

PEACE NEWS

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AIR ACE TELLS TRUTH ABOUT AIR WAR

Recruiting British Boys for Murder

HOW THE PEOPLE CAN END IT

By Captain H. C. BIARD

Test Pilot and Schneider Trophy winner

LAST night, I went to the pictures, and received overwhelming proof that truth is stranger than fiction.

The fiction part of the programme was good, and the "trailers" were both stupendous and colossal; but that which was offered as truth (recruiting propaganda struggling to cover its ugliness with a threadbare uniform of patriotism) seemed to me to be both naked and ashamed.

It dealt with ARP, showing processions of bombers of different nations, and exhorted young men to join the RAF and defend their heritage. Setting aside the problem of how much heritage the average young man possesses in "our great Empire"—usually no more than the right to work for someone else on ground he does not own but is asked to die to defend—this picture annoyed me for other reasons.

I began flying in 1911 with Bleriot and Grahame-White; and after covering more than a million miles in the air, most of it taken up in testing new aircraft, I grow daily more disgusted with the amount of idiocy glibly repeated about the air situation today.

All the great Powers are talking of "Defence"—and all are concentrating on building bombers. Not fighters, you note, but bombers. Earl Baldwin himself has said:

The bomber will always get through . . . Which means that you have to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy if you want to save yourselves.

It is to kill these women and children that decent young Britishers are now being propagandized night and day to join the fighting forces.

During the last war, I taught a number of the Western Front "aces" their job. They were just such lads as those now being asked to "defend their heritage." Their names blazed across the lurid skies of 1914-1918; but they are forgotten now, and where they crashed in flames, the Flanders poppies blow.

A few are left; I was talking to one the other day. He is employed, on barely enough money to keep him, in a Midland firm. (Continued on page 2, col. 1.)

START AND FINISH OF THE MANIFESTO CAMPAIGN

Left: The opening meeting of the campaign in the Square at Carlisle.

Below: A section of the huge crowd at the concluding demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday.

Photos by Alan.

"Who are these Peace Pledge people?"

Public Interest Roused by P.P.U. Manifesto Campaign

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

AS the great Manifesto campaign of the Peace Pledge Union reached its climax on Sunday, with the remarkable triumphal entry into Hyde Park of the coach that had toured the country, and its London escort, I heard an onlooker ask, "Who are these peace pledge people?"

It was to set people asking that question that this seven days' campaign was launched, and it has been telling people the answer from Carlisle to London (as our correspondent tells on page 10).

On Sunday it was London's turn. The procession to the park (described on page 9) set people asking the question, and round two platforms in the park some thousands heard the answer.

So important was this event that, though only the *News Chronicle*, *Manchester Guardian*, and *Daily Herald* among daily newspapers saw fit to mention it, it found a place in the news broadcast on the wireless that night.

PRACTICAL POLICY NOW

George Lansbury, whose presence at the Durham Miners' Gala prevented his attendance, sent an encouraging message in which he said that pacifists asked that

in all questions affecting the relationships between nations there shall be cooperation in such ways as will enable all to share territories, resources, and markets on equal terms. Our people must give this lead.

Stuart Morris, who was the chief speaker, said, "What we want to do is to put before you that pacifism is something which belongs to the ordinary ways of life, a policy which George Lansbury, as the first pacifist Prime Minister of Great Britain, could put into practice tomorrow if he were returned." He then outlined some of the main heads of the Manifesto (summarized on page 15).

"In a country which has renounced war under the Briand-Kellogg Pact," he added, "we are the true patriots who individually renounce war. We call upon you to join us by signing our pledge to renounce war."

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

Max Plowman emphasized the responsibility of each man and woman. "It is no good putting the responsibility on someone else," he said.

"We have got to do to others," said James Hudson, "even cruel Japan and Italy, as we would have them do to us. You have got to practise the same policy of

On Other Pages

A Stranger in the Abbey	...	5
Digging with the Unemployed	...	6
Dr. A. N. Elder	...	7
George M. Ll. Davies	...	8
Officers in Schools	...	9
Next Week's Issue: Special Announcement	...	9

Public Affairs COMMENTARY

by

"Vigilant"

A FALSE ISSUE

IN the face of the apparently most unfavourable circumstances at home and abroad, the Peace Pledge Union has made its voice heard once more.

At home there are almost daily signs of the ever-increasing preoccupation of the people with some kind of preparation for war—whether to preserve the Empire or defend democracy everywhere. Internationally, the comings and goings of statesmen create an uneasy uncertainty as to what the politicians may be planning—whether, for example, the Anglo-French entente is an attempt to frighten the dictators or to bind an unwilling France to a pro-fascist Britain with a view to reconciling the former to some kind of partnership with Italy and Germany to control Europe in the interests of the great capitalist Powers. (Mr. Chamberlain's repetition of Britain's policy, and Germany's conditional approval makes it little clearer.)

Yet it is singularly appropriate that the Peace Pledge Union should stand up at such a time and make its position clear. For the situation is being increasingly exploited to create, in the public mind, the false idea that the real and only issue is whether fascism is to be supported or attacked.

On the one hand (to take an extreme example), Nazi Germany officially honours the most brutal murderers of Dr. Dollfuss, one-time Chancellor of Austria, on the simple ground that their act was done in the interests of their particular brand of fascism and is therefore to be treated by Nazis as praiseworthy. On the other, the communist *Daily Worker* hopes that the purpose of the Anglo-French entente is to frighten Hitler because to frighten Hitler "is a good and peaceful thing."

A PRACTICAL POLICY

IF further proof were needed that these two are merely on opposite sides of a war policy, and therefore both in a united front against peace, it is contained in the fact that both support the arms race.

That is why the Peace Pledge Union's

(Continued on back page.)



Air Ace denounces Air War

(continued from p. 1, col. 4)

Once a famous pilot, he cannot get a flying job now. He is 46—too old for the air!

We used to think of aerial fights as combats between knights mounted on mechanical steeds. There was romance in pitting oneself against an enemy, man to man, with death the penalty and fame the reward.

BOMBING WOMEN & BABIES

I shall not teach war pilots again. There is not much chivalry and romance in it now. The job, now, is to gas women and blow up babies.

British girls in British factories are packing filthy poisons into bombs which their menfolk, if need arises, will throw down on girls, invalids, and terrified children in other countries—"to destroy civilian morale."

I have heard stupid young men taunt pacifists as cowards and say that the army would make men of them; but what sort of man would you count him who merely struck a girl in the face with his fist, or twisted a child's arm? Worse—or better—than he who sprayed the fleeing girl with Lewisite from a raiding aeroplane, or blew off the child's legs with a bomb?

These things are not pretty to talk about; and the poor people of Madrid and Canton do not find them any prettier to experience. Nor would London or Berlin.

Every airman knows, though most of them are gagged by fears of civilian contempt and do not care to tell, that the air forces of all leading countries are organized so that their attack, in the event of war, would be directed, not against armies of battleships, but against the civilian morale of an enemy. Enemy cities would be smashed and poisoned so as to terrify the other side into surrender.

AIR RAID PREVARICATIONS

Reservoirs are marked down for poison sprays, food distribution services for destruction to cause famine, and in most countries laboratories work night and day to make ready disease toxins to spread plague.

Meanwhile, twentieth century men and women, civilized and presumably intelligent, slave to earn money for taxes to pay for these things, clap stupidly at air displays as bombers roar past, and put their pathetic faith in individuals known as ARP officers, most of whom have never flown in their lives!

The situation calls for the vitriolic pen of a Dean Swift; I cannot cope with it! But I recall a few lines of Swinburne's which are not entirely inappropriate:

*With a hero at head, and a nation
Well gagged and well drilled and well cowed,
And a gospel of war and damnation,
Has not Empire a right to be proud?*

Paying for air raid prevarications and bombers and gas factories is simply preparing a rod for our own backs. We menace other nations; they, in retaliation, menace us. We, in terror, prepare to strafe them; they, shaking with fear, get ready to wallop us. Truly, truly, as the poet said, "there is one born every minute!"

These air raid prevarication officers amuse me. Few of them know a bomber from a fighter; I think, sometimes, that they are chosen because of their splendid stupidity. It is unshakeable; it radiates courage.

PEOPLE COULD END IT

They know the theory of putting sand on a thermite bomb that will scorch you to death if you go within ten yards of it, and that will melt steel; they can tell you exactly how to keep out of your house a bomb that will penetrate 25 feet of solid concrete; put their heads in gas masks and they will demonstrate fearlessly and triumphantly just how you can be saved from an arsenic spray that will penetrate clothing and cause agonizing death in a few moments.

When a question is asked that they cannot answer—such as what will happen when sewers and gas-mains are burst, or how starving populations will be fed, or why the Whitehall departments have had invulnerable battle headquarters prepared

(continued foot of next column)

DUCHESSE, Catherine St., W.C.2. Tel. 8243.
Evgs. 8.30. Mats. Wed. Thurs. 2.30. (Smoking)

GLORIOUS MORNING

by Norman Macowan
THE MESSAGE OF THIS PLAY, DELIVERED WITH
BLAZING SINCERITY AND STRENGTH, IS THAT
"THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IS THE CAUSE OF GOD."

I GATHERED from one or two of our pacifist friends in the House who heard Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the Foreign Affairs Debate on Tuesday, that they sensed a real improvement both in the situation and in his attitude.

The Prime Minister was right in declining to accept the bull-at-a-gate policy of Sir Archibald Sinclair with respect to Herr Henlein. Henlein represents a grave reality. If there is to be peace within or emanating from Czechoslovakia, the views of the Sudeten movement must have some regard paid to them. The Government is wise and pacific in its request to the Czech Government to consult Henlein in all that is afoot.

If it is possible it shall be done: if it is impossible it must be done.

This was the happy injunction for the guidance of Lord Runciman at Prague. But why doesn't the Government apply this to Spain and China also?

In China Mr. Chamberlain had nothing of which to remind Japan, save British interests in the East. Japan has heard too much already of British interests and British methods of securing them. Japan needs rather to be reminded of British willingness for a fair deal.

War of Words—and Men

MR. ATTLEE greatly embarrassed the Prime Minister when, in a supplementary question, he asked whether the British Government had informed Signor Mussolini what it would regard as a Spanish settlement satisfactory enough to justify the coming into force of the Italo-British entente.

Mr. Chamberlain's inability to reply meant, no doubt, that Mr. Attlee had scored a Parliamentary hit.

But is it not time that both the Government and the Opposition should put an end to their fencing about what sort of settlement on Spain should be precedent to a wide-world settlement?

The terrible fact remains that a vile and atrocious slaughter of our fellow men goes on every day in Spain.

No-one in pain seems able to suggest anything to stop it except by the absolute victory of one side. Such a victory cannot be yet, and must mean the enormous amplification of the carnage. Someone in Europe must act.

It is a fearful reflection that Parliament is about to break up without either Government or Oppositions producing even a small sprig which could be planted and grow into something of an olive branch during the Parliamentary vacation.

All the politicians ought to go away on their holidays with this dreadful failure heavy on their souls. Let them consider, with every break of healing sunshine from the south, that men and babes die in God's

(continued from col. 1)

for them when a few sandbags (we are informed) would have done as well, the clear light of faith shines out of their simple countenances, and they say that the Government knows best!

Perhaps they are right. In time of war, I feel sure that the Government will take no chances on its own account.

There are, I am told, about 43 millions of us in Britain, mostly terrified of the idea of war, all hating war—and nearly all paying and preparing for it. In Germany, Italy, France and elsewhere, the people feel just the same—they long and pray for peace, dread war, and are being herded into incredibly wasteful and hateful war preparations.

Yet the people of all nations—those who suffer everything and gain nothing from war, while politicians and profiteers make fortunes and titles—could avoid it all by saying: *I renounce war, and I will never support or sanction another.*

One hundred and twenty thousand people in Great Britain have taken this vow already, and are persuading others to do so.

Good luck to them!

(This is now available as a leaflet from the Peace Pledge Union, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1, price 1s. per 100 net, excluding postage.)

Parliamentary Notes

DESPERATE NEED FOR SETTLEMENT IN SPAIN

By Our Lobby Correspondent

same sunshine for want of a little more conciliatoriness and a little less parliamentary wordiness.

It's not arms for Spain which either we or the Spaniards need. It's an end of the cruel murder and hate for which we must pray.

One estimate now puts the number of Spanish slain at half a million. Whether Franco or Valencia wins it will be "a State built on a million dead amid the clamour of triumphant hatred." And that would be, as one distinguished Spaniard said, no state at all.

Labour M.P.s with Fascist Ideas

THE pacifist finds it hard to hold on to any illusions at Question Time in the House of Commons.

He proclaims his faith in the efficacy of conciliatory and cooperative effort for the healing of the nations. He hopes and almost believes that at least the younger and more progressive of the MPs are being influenced in this direction.

But, in practice, few of the MPs respond to his appeal. Only the other day, two of the younger Labour MPs—one returned in a recent by-election—representing two such typical Lancashire constituencies as Burnley and Farnworth, were harrying the President of the Board of Trade—who apparently was very willing to be harried—into new protective measures against Japanese exports of cotton.

Five years ago it is doubtful if a single Lancashire Liberal or Labour member would have ventured to make such a demand. It would have been generally realized that the shirts, which, as Mr. Burke, of Burnley complained came here from Japan at 9s. 2d. per dozen, were hardly the sort of shirts that the skilled operatives of Lancashire would have felt called to produce in any case.

On the other hand, if people bought such shirts in Britain, it was clearly because they were too poor to buy anything better. How Mr. Tomlinson or Mr. Burke were helping their poorer fellow citizens does not seem to have been considered by them. It has become the fashionable thing for every party to play the game the Tory protectionist has always played.

Thus, some of the young Labour MPs now gird at the wicked Japanese with the best (or worst) of them. Protesting against the cheap Fascist shirts, they clothe their own minds in the raiment of Fascist ideas.

At bottom, of course, all this sort of thing is flatly contradictory of Labour official policy. In any case, it is surely manifest that if we are all determined to ring round the teeming millions of Japan by our alien laws and their products by our protectionist duties and restrictions, Japan has little else to do but to sell shirts at a price which the poorest can pay.

It certainly does no harm to the poor. It may even permit Japan to feel a little less of a political and industrial outcast. For her present conduct in China offers little proof of the moral efficacy of the policy of Western civilization to hedge her round.

Imperial "Dogs in the Manger"

In many parts of the world today we are looked on as dogs in the manger, occupying a very large portion of the earth's surface, preventing others from occupying it, and either unable or unwilling to develop it and occupy it ourselves. That frame of mind on the part of the land-hungry nations is not conducive to peaceful or settled international relations.

It would be hard to beat the above statement for clarity and fairness in putting the principal positive constructive challenge which the pacifist movement, and Mr. Lansbury and Dr. Salter in particular, have been submitting.

But they are not the words of G.L. They are from the lips of the new Duke of Devonshire. Anyone who remembers the dyed-in-the-wool Toryism of Lord Hartington, when he sat in the lower house, will excuse my astonishment that such a sentiment should have come from such a quarter. It is either that the House of Lords

has had a very ennobling influence on the new Duke, or else the facts of the international situation are becoming too much for even the most hardened of Tories.

The Duke was speaking as chairman of the Overseas Settlement Board, which has recently reported that last year more people came from the Dominions to Britain, than from Britain to the Dominions, by 8,000. In 1913 emigration from Britain to the Dominions had exceeded immigration by 224,000.

No wonder the Duke described this as a serious state of affairs.

In Japan, Germany, and Italy, statesmen become increasingly obsessed with the need of egress for their people as their populations increase. We, on the other hand, literally don't know what to do with the far-flung territories that presumably invite our people into their open spaces.

"Dog in the manger" was the right phrase for this situation!

But the Duke of Devonshire could not resist the temptation to give his very reasonable account of an appalling situation the usual "imperialistic" twist. He said the birth-rate was falling. It was now only fifteen per thousand and we needed at least 19½ per thousand to keep the population just static.

We must, said the Duke, hurry up to populate the Dominions "while there is yet time." How this was to be done with an annual "negative surplus" of 4½ per thousand, heaven alone knows.

Certainly the Duke didn't know and wisely refrained from any attempt to explain.

Labour and the Supply Votes

THE decision of the Labour Party to refrain from challenging the Government by divisions on the Supply Votes at the end of the session has stimulated much speculation and some resentment.

Ever since 1906, when in a fit of pique the Conservatives, who had been nearly wiped out at the polls, decided they would oppose anything they could oppose, Oppositions have spent two or three evenings at the end of each Parliamentary session in marching through the division lobbies, voting against the Supply Votes.

This was persisted in, even though it had been made perfectly clear during the session upon what points the policy of the Opposition diverged from that of the Government. Divisions take place throughout the year upon the main issues.

It was clear that this farce of walking through the lobbies should have been dispensed with long ago. Many members, I am sorry to say, are heartily in favour of its continuance. These are, for the most part, the people who neglect their Parliamentary duties till the end and then make up for absences from many divisions earlier in the year by adding up a good score in the last day or two. In that way they give their constituents—or they hope they do—a favourable impression of their Parliamentary constancy and assiduousness.

There can be no doubt that the Labour Party was finally helped to take the needed decision to end the farce by its own particular difficulties about the Service Estimates.

It did not want to vote against these.

Worse still, the Party did not want to refrain from voting against the Services and then vote against housing, education, pensions, and so on.

This additional reason for the Labour Party's attitude did not commend itself to the Pacifist Group, which met and considered the matter. The pacifists agreed with the general contention that the mere tramping through the lobbies should be ended. Furthermore, they felt that their own pacifist position had been made clear throughout the year in the general debates on the international and rearmament situation.

They could have challenged a division on their own initiative in the Service Estimates. Two of them were going to be away in any case on pacifist business elsewhere. At best, therefore, there would have been only three or four to vote.

The pacifists, of course, are not afraid to stand "in the right with two or three." They have already done that. So what could they add to their testimony? Would not another lone challenge be just an act of pedantry?

In any case, the Speaker would most likely have declined to take a division as he realized the smallness of the numbers demanding it.

The pacifists therefore concluded that they would refrain from challenging the votes and continue to make their case, as heretofore, when opportunity is offered to them in the course of the general Parliamentary debates.

James H. Hudson

Jawaharlal Nehru— LEADER OF 350,000,000 INDIANS

By MICHAEL STEBBING

THERE has just left England, after a stay of a few weeks, one of the most important men of the East, and successor to Mr. Gandhi in his office of President of the Indian National Congress—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Pandit Nehru is one of the three leaders of the Indian National Congress, the other two being the Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Bose. Of very different types and widely varying age, these three men have in common one outstanding characteristic—that of the deepest loyalty to the nearly 350,000,000 Indians who look to them for leadership, and whose guides, philosophers, and friends they literally are.

In character and personality generally, Jawaharlal Nehru, the humanist, may be placed somewhere between Gandhi, the venerated Mahatma, and Bose, the brilliant political organizer. Probably the most widely read and deeply cultured of the Indian leaders, Nehru has achieved success in several diverse activities.

LIFE-TIME OF WORK

Author of a number of learned treatises on historical subjects, about two years ago he published his autobiography which proved a most unusual best-seller and must surely be one of the finest works of its kind ever written.

But Nehru has not, by any means, spent his life in an ivory tower. Born a little over fifty years ago, he was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1912 was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple. Leaving almost immediately for India, he spent the next six years practising the law in his native Allahabad, and only entered politics some years later, as the Great War was ending.

In the political sphere Nehru rose rapidly, and was for many years the general secretary of the Indian National Congress.

In this arduous office he showed his marked ability and profound sincerity to such a degree that he was signally honoured by being elected to the presidency of the Congress, an honour enriched by the fact that the Mahatma had been his immediate predecessor.

Nehru has now been president on three occasions, and at the present time is a distinguished member of the Central Executive of the Congress and chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee.

From India, which he left only about two months ago, Nehru flew to Cairo whence, after interviewing the leaders of the Wafd (Egyptian Nationalist) party, he proceeded to Barcelona. From Spain he flew to Paris and thence to London.

In the modest flat in which he stayed during his visit to London, I noticed lying about, and well-thumbed, Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*, and Naomi Mitchison's *Moral Basis of Politics*—as well as a large number of bottles of lemon barley water and syphons of soda!

RELATIONSHIP WITH MR. GANDHI

Asked what was the relationship between Mr. Gandhi and himself, the Pandit replied, "Gandhi is now and will continue to be the dominating figure in India, and any great movement must have his collaboration."

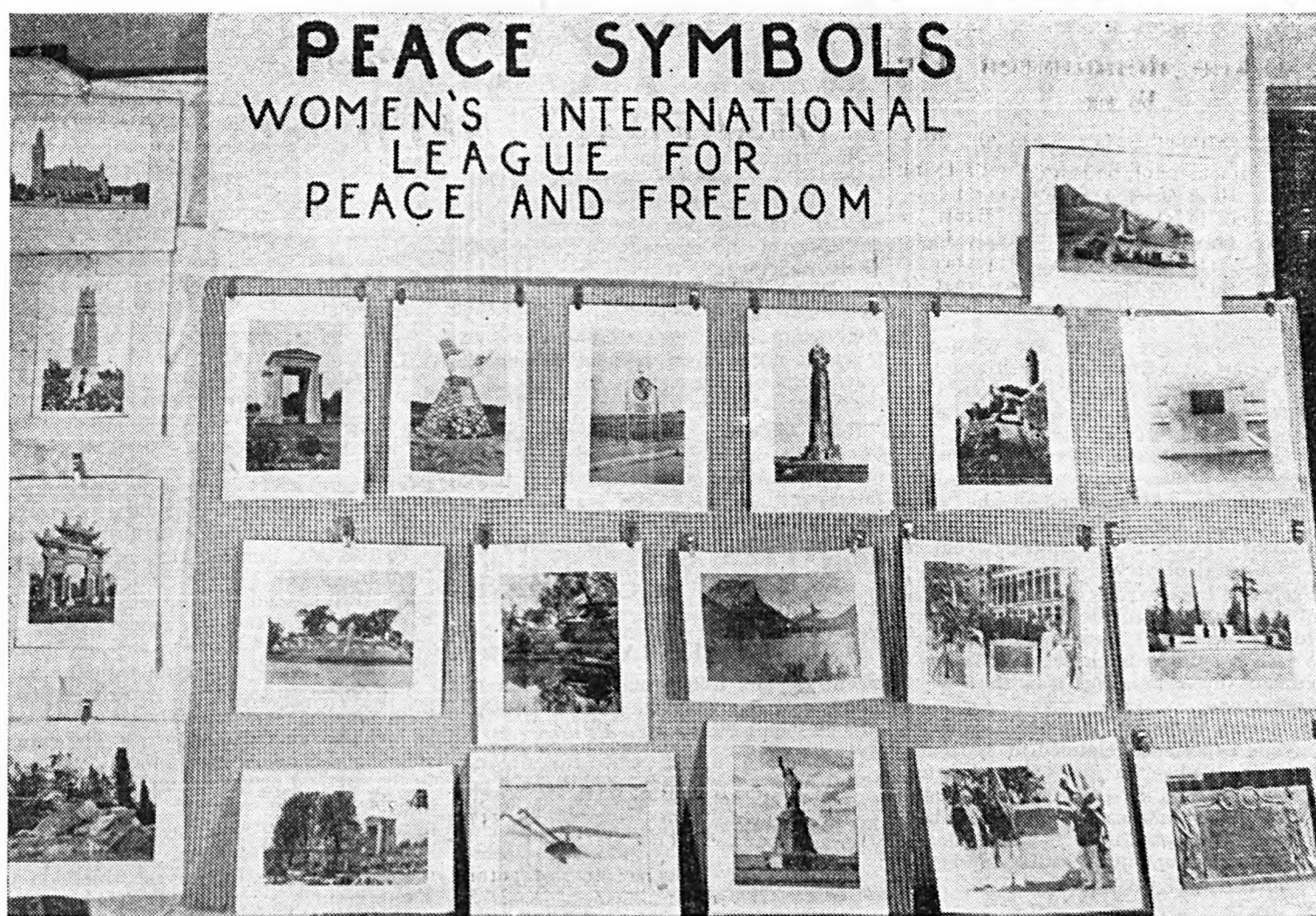
"It is impossible to overestimate the part played by Mr. Gandhi in building up the movement for Indian independence. I have been working with him for many, many years, and although from time to time we have had our differences I shall continue to work with him."

Nehru takes a frankly socialist viewpoint; although he has not blindly accepted as perfect everything that has happened in Soviet Russia since the Revolution, he has nevertheless been favourably impressed by the general trend in that vast country.

In India, Nehru's status in the Congress makes him one of the most oft-consulted men in the land. Apart from consultations, he addresses a phenomenal number of meetings, and gives as many lectures as would fully occupy the time of two lesser men.

Since his arrival in England, he has been no freer of meetings than he is in India. Apart from addressing a number of large gatherings, as reported from time to time in PEACE NEWS, he has had smaller private meetings and interviews with the General Council of the TUC, the Directors of Toynbee Hall, and the officials of the National Council for Civil Liberties.

In addition, he has met the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Halifax, the Marquess of Zetland (Secretary for India), Lord Lothian, Mr. Jordan (High Commissioner for New Zealand), and Mr. George Lansbury.



Peace Monuments of the World

THIS collection of photographs of peace monuments has been made by Miss Zonia Baber, of Chicago, chairman of the Peace Symbols Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (American section). They have been covered with cellulose for protection, and mounted for use in schools, churches, and other organizations.

Illustrative of the trouble involved in securing some of the photographs is the fact that Miss Baber has tried for two years to secure a print of the Good Will Monument presented by the American colony to the people of Mexico, as part of the celebration of the completion of the Laredo-Mexico Highway (across the US frontier). This photograph was eventually secured (since our picture was taken).

The following monuments and symbols appear in the photograph (reading from left to right, beginning at the top):

Top Row: 1. Peace Palace at The Hague, dedicated, 1903. 2. The Christ of the Andes, dedicated, 1904.

Second Row: 3. Sweden-Norway Century of Peace Monument, 1914. 4. International Peace Arch, Blaine, Washington, USA, 1921. 5. Peace Garden, North Dakota—Manitoba, 1932. 6. Pan-American Friendship

Symbol Laredo Bridge, Texas—Nuevo Leon, 1935. 7. Flemish Peace Shrine, Dixmude, Flanders, Belgium, 1930. 8. Testimonial Peace Tower, Riverside, California, 1925. 9. Boundary Peace Tablet, Lacolle, Quebec, Canada, 1937.

Third Row: 10. Friendship Arch, Chefoo, China, 1921. 11. Fountain of Time, Memorial of Century of Peace, England—US, Chicago, 1922. 12. Japanese Good Will Temple, Wooded Island, Jackson Park, Chicago, 1893. 13. International Peace Park, Alberta—Montana, 1932. 14. Rush-Bagot Memorial Tablet, Washington, DC, USA, 1935. 15. Harding Good Will Monument, Vancouver, Canada, 1925.

Fourth Row: 16. Universal Postal Union Monument, Berne, Switzerland, 1909. 17. Flag Day, Peace Arch, Blaine, Washington, USA. 18. Columbian Peace Plough, Exposition, Chicago, 1893. 19. Statue of Liberty, Bedloe's Island, New York Harbour, 1886. 20. Boundary Peace Tablet, Trout River, New York, 1937. 21. Boundary Peace Tablet, Ambassador Bridge, Detroit—Windsor, 1935.

Since our picture was taken seven further photographs have been added to the collection.

As reported in PEACE NEWS some time ago, Miss Baber (whose address is 5656 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago) has published an illustrated booklet describing these symbols.

SCARLET PIMPERNEL AND SIR ANTONY FFOULKES

—Up-to-date version

By PHILIP and MARGERY MUMFORD

THE *War Resister*, the quarterly bulletin just issued, is, in effect, an advertisement for the War Resisters' International. Four times a year the WRI stands up and says, "Take a look at us. Read about what we are doing." Then it disappears again from the public view.

We ought all to read this fascinating account of the work of the WRI, which has contacts in 73 countries, 55 of which have organized sections.

In this bulletin there are mentioned the activities of pacifists in Spain, Colombia, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, China, Japan, Hawaii, the Philippines, the United States, Belgium, Austria, France, Poland, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Bulgaria, Ireland, France, and Great Britain. Let us display before you a few samples of the work described.

DEVIL'S ISLAND RESCUE

Nine men have been rescued from Devil's Island. One writes:

Without resources, without family, friendship, or fatherland—that is the fate of a man who refuses to kill. I lost my youth. I have still some courage, but shall I have it always?

How can I thank you and all your fellow comrades who have loaded me with greetings for the New Year—this time it has been different through knowing there are so many kind hearts on our planet.

There is an account of the arrests of pacifists in Japan and notably of a professor at the Tokyo Imperial University. But the frailty as well as the strength of us pacifists is here recorded. There is a Polish student who gave in after seven months' imprisonment, and another, who consented to serve in the army after six months' imprisonment, writes to a friend:

I must now forget everything and adapt myself to the accursed fate; I feel I am worse than

when I was in prison, for there I was freer than here as a human being.

The section in Ireland sends a postcard to the parents of every male child born asking them to join in the crusade for peace. And so on... read for yourselves.

FROM GERMANY

But the most impressive message of all comes from Germany. A pacifist writes, "Pacifism is an uninterrupted battle with yourself." He does not say, "Pacifism is an uninterrupted battle with Hitler, or a corrupt press, or insidious nationalist propaganda," but with himself.

If we were pacifists in Germany we rather suspect we would be so satisfied with our spiritual superiority to the acquiescent mass of our fellow countrymen that it would not occur to us that our energy should be directed to removing the mote from our own eye.

This message from a German comrade seems to us profoundly true and contains a lesson which most of us pacifists are not yet ready to learn.

"SCARLET PIMPERNEL"

We have said that this bulletin is the quarterly advertisement of the WRI.

Do you know that this organization, which helps any pacifist prisoner in any land and never refuses aid to those who ask, that corresponds in dozens of languages, that works through high officials, through public opinion, and through the humblest channels without

showing itself, is operated from a private house in Enfield?

Do you know that it has only two officials, one a man who earns his living during the day, is a sponsor of the PPU, and an active member of various committees, and the other a woman who suffers a great deal physically and who can never leave her doctor for long?

In our house you often hear, "The Scarlet Pimpernel wants you on the 'phone," or, "Here's a letter from the Scarlet Pimpernel." We always call Mr. Runham Brown the Scarlet Pimpernel and Grace Beaton is Sir Antony Ffoulkes.

Listen to Runham talking about Robert, whose escape from Devil's Island he engineered and who was looked after by Mrs. Runham Brown during a visit to England.

Read in this bulletin about Grace, who looks so fragile, travelling over Austria and Germany in order to re-establish contacts disturbed by the recent *Anschluss*—it is not difficult to imagine what hope and comfort she must have brought many desperately lonely people.

ADVENTURE AND INSPIRATION

Here are two ordinary friendly people whose lives are not only a stirring tale of adventure, but an inspiration to people like ourselves and an ever-vital flow of energy to our unfortunate comrades in prison all over the world.

We have one criticism to make—about the bulletin. We don't like the printing.

It looks rather like the report of the annual general meeting of the Dry-As-Dust Financial Company that you throw straightway into the w.p.b. The new cover is much more pleasing than the old, but couldn't the actual printing and lay-out be made more attractive to the eye?

One of the most attractive things about the Scarlet Pimpernel and his gang, though, is that all their energy goes to helping people, and thus the cause which the Peace Pledge Union exists to serve, and if they haven't any left over for shop-window dressing it really matters very little.

NEW BOOKS

AN ATTACK ON HUXLEY

Ends Are Means. By Dr. K. S. Shelvankar. Lindsay Drummond. 3s. 6d.

THE summer months are the interval between one publishing year and the next. If one were to write a retrospect of this past year from a pacifist point of view one of its chief subjects would be Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*, not only because of its interest for pacifists, but because of the general interest it aroused, which made it a steady best-seller for many months. At the end of the year, aptly enough, comes *Ends Are Means*, a sustained criticism of Huxley from a Marxist point of view.

Professor Levy writes a somewhat petulant introduction, but the book itself is not petulant and can be recommended to anyone who is anxious to check over Huxley's argument by comparing it with a very different one.

It is very different. Huxley's standard is mystic experience, claimed to be immediate knowledge of an all-embracing spiritual reality; Dr. Shelvankar, maintaining full authority for scientific methods, denies that there is any evidence of a separated spiritual reality either in the individual or the universe.

As the two cases are presented they are quite incompatible. Huxley calls science an abstraction from reality, but his mystic experience does not offer a reality from which science could be abstracted.

Mystic experience, on the other hand, however it may be interpreted, is psychological fact, and Dr. Shelvankar's scientific picture does not really provide for it. He dismisses it with some vague reference to "psychological states," but, as he himself remarks when Huxley calls that science to his aid, psychology "is one of the most recent and least mature of the major sciences."

Science, in fact, is not sufficiently advanced to tidy up the relations between mind and environment. Both assumptions, that it will and that it will not, must wait upon the future for proof. First round even!

Dr. Shelvankar is on surer ground in attacking Huxley's dictum that means determine ends. Its weakness is that it is so vague that its meaning depends almost entirely on the way it is interpreted. Dr. Shelvankar's chief contention is that as Huxley interprets it it means no more than that the way to become what you want to become is to be what you want to be.

There seems to be considerable justice in this criticism. The essence of any activity that is called a means is that it does not contain what it is meant to achieve. Probably it is only because in a large number of cases the attainment of future satisfaction appears to demand the abnegation of present satisfactions that the conception of "a means" ever arises.

It is one of the central flaws of Huxley's argument that it tends to suggest the non-attachedness of individuals is the means to a good society, and also the end of that good society. But what can be attained by an individual apart from social progress cannot be a dynamic for social progress. There is no real urge toward a better society unless we could do it something that we cannot do without it.

Dr. Shelvankar, however, has also a formula that leads him into nonsense, the opposition of government to governed. Again and again he treats the power which a government has by its authority being accepted as though it were the inseparable possession of the governing class. On this assumption he insists that revolution has no meaning unless the revolutionaries take over the state machine.

But government power, in the main, is not a concrete possession like a machine gun but something which a government has only so long as the governed agree that it has it. The aim of pacifist propaganda—and for that matter of most left-wing propaganda—is to limit that authority from below. The existence of overweening authority in a society means a cancerous growth in governed as much as in governors.

No recognition of the relation between economic organization and political ideology alters the fact that individualism can be led to question the limits of the authority of the moment. Otherwise Dr. Shelvankar would himself be supporting the National Government. Where one individual can go others can follow. Dr. Shelvankar says, "we cannot abate the fever of nationalism without seizing the machinery of propaganda through which the virus is pumped into us . . ."

He is too modest in suggesting that he himself has not avoided the disease. What he really means, however, is that, though favoured individuals can learn to resist state propaganda, the mass of people cannot. That is where the pacifist disagrees.

A. C. STANLAND

VALUE OF FRIENDLY DISCUSSION

Incentives and Contentment. By Patricia Hall and H. W. Locke with a foreword by Seeborn Rowntree. Pitman. 2s. 6d.

The result of a long-period investigation into working conditions and labour problems in the famous York cocoa works, this book contains much valuable information and makes many suggestions which could be followed up by employers and social investigators.

Although the findings of the book are dependent on conditions prevailing at York, the fact that the emphasis is on the human factor in industry makes its conclusions of general interest.

The arrangements for making contact between the workpeople and the managerial staff are described in detail, also the regular meetings at which the departmental foremen are acquainted with the firm's problems and plans, the arbitration committees to settle disputes and the social amenities provided for the workers.

It would appear that at York everything is done to make the individual workman realize that he is not a piece of machinery himself, but that he can play important part in the work of the firm.

Yet, in spite of these arrangements, which go to increase the goodwill between the workers and the employers, there are apparently still times when some small discontent arrests the efficiency of a department. It was to prevent future discontent arriving at all, or to remove it very speedily if it did arrive, that the present investigation was made.

Often the cause of the discontent was difficult for the worker to put into words, but skilful questioning on the part of a trained investigator, who had won the confidence of the workers concerned, usually revealed the root of the problem.

Perhaps it was lack of confidence in their particular foreman, perhaps one of a hitherto harmonious group had developed other interests and was no longer in tune with the others, perhaps domestic problems kept the worker from giving of his best, or jealousy of a fellow-worker made him feel that he was not being treated fairly.

In some cases it was found that although the worker had passed an occupational test before being allocated to his specific job, the original aptitude had disappeared and that the worker was now a square peg in a round hole. The value of these tests is proved by the fact that less than 5 percent of the workers appear to be in the wrong job.

The book stresses the importance of making the worker confident that any complaint or suggestion from him will be dealt with speedily, and on its merits; of establishing active cooperation between the management and the foremen and the shop stewards, and through these with the workers themselves.

The fact that one factory has found these methods satisfactory in producing efficient and contented workers, free from the fear of involved industrial disputes shows that the problems of a factory can be settled by friendly discussions. Let us hope that as a result of this book other employers will be led to use similar methods.

M. GOODFELLOW

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

The Case For Electoral Reform. By S. R. Daniels. Allen and Unwin. 3s. 6d.

As Lord Hugh Cecil points out in his foreword to this book, democracy in the original sense of the word is now impossible. Government by public assembly was only possible in the small city

States of Greece and early Rome; what we have now—at the most—is representative government.

The ideal of representative government, if it is to justify its name, is quite simple. It is that the general control of policy shall be vested in a body of people whose divisions of opinion are proportionate to the division of opinion in the country as a whole.

This thesis is unanswerable, and it is also probably true to say that few people, even among its opponents would deny that Proportional Representation is accurately designed to produce that result.

The arguments against PR are really arguments that representative government in the full sense is undesirable. The commonest suggestion is that it makes "strong government" impossible, by encouraging every little section of opinion to put up candidates, thus diverting attention from the issues of central importance.

To this Mr. Daniels' answer, illustrated from many countries, is that, on the contrary, PR has not multiplied parties but has proved necessary where there is multiplication of parties, and its introduction has tended to reduce them.

The objection that PR is too complicated to be practicable is groundless, because it is in fact used in many countries. The actual counting has not proved difficult, while, as to the method of voting, millions of working-class people succeed in using it in popular competitions to determine the most popular film stars.

Lord Hugh Cecil's gravest objection to the present system is that it is tending more and more to become a plebiscite for support of particular party leaders, and to lead toward dictatorship of a small group, if not of a single individual.

This misgiving, coming from such a source, should suggest to any pacifist that the subject is worth his attention, and in this book he will find the case admirably displayed for his decision.

CHARLES JOHNSON

LORD CECIL ON PACIFISM

Peace and Pacifism. By Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. Clarendon Press. 2s.

Lord Cecil's general attitude on the peace question is very well known, but this booklet, which contains the Romanes Lecture delivered at Oxford last May, is useful as a full yet concise statement of it. Pacifists will probably quarrel with part at least of the first statement of their case, which Lord Cecil thereafter proceeds to criticize. Their argument, as he gives it, is "that peace cannot be kept by force and that the attempt to do so will only result in disastrous and devastating war."

I doubt if any pacifist would dispute that the threat of arms can, and has, prevented particular wars. There are many instances, which Lord Cecil mentions, to support this. It is fairly certain that the threat of arms prevented the invasion of Czechoslovakia a short time back.

The pacifist case is that such temporary effects have not proved to take the world as a whole any distance toward a real peace. They have merely extended non-war. Delay is of value if it is used to good purpose, but in fact the atmosphere that follows such delays never is of the right kind for good purposes to operate.

A similar point arises over the conduct of war in the name of international law. Lord Cecil agrees that there is a considerable difference between civil force and international force, and that this "may make punishment of an international aggressor inappropriate." But, he insists, prevention is different from punishment and need not rest on moral disapprobation.

Yet the fact is that, whenever war is sufficiently prolonged to cause real hardship to both sides, the coolly judicial attitude is always engulfed in moral disapprobation. It is not the state of mind in which one starts a war but the state of mind in which one finishes that is important. Men, who cannot attain divine impartiality, have always to take that into account.

J. L.

FIGHT FOR EXISTENCE

Religious Liberty in Totalitarian States. By James Barr, M.P. Allenson. 6d.

Religion has now become the measure of the decrease of toleration in Europe. Political freedom no longer provides a useful standard of comparison, in so many countries has it disappeared completely. The terms on which religious bodies are permitted to survive are an interesting index to the character of the various totalitarianisms. In sixty pages James Barr has collected a great deal of significant information.

Russian policy may now fairly be described as one of giving religious bodies

license to die quietly. The original Soviet constitution granted "freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda" to every citizen. Up to 1928 Bibles could be printed in Leningrad. Legislation in 1929 aimed at the impoverishment of church life by prohibiting any meeting except those strictly for worship.

In the new Soviet constitution the phrase is altered: "freedom to perform religious rites and freedom of anti-religious propaganda." Believers may die in the faith, but they are not intended to have successors.

In Germany there has been more attempt to convert religious bodies to the service of the State. But where the results were unpromising there has been the same limitation to purely religious activities. When a Catholic Young Men's Association was dissolved, it was stated:

It has indulged in sports and games of various kinds and carried on social evenings and other such events in a predominantly secular manner.

By comparison the trial of strength between the recognized Roman Catholic Church and the Italian State is unspectacular. The Pope has retained and exercised freedom of speech; the final balance of authority is still undetermined.

PAGEANT PLAY

Lift Up Your Lamps. By Elfrida Vipont. Manchester 1930 Committee of the Society of Friends. 1s. 6d.

This is the text of a pageant play which has twice been performed by the children of Mount Street Meeting, Manchester. The episodes picture the growth of Quakerism in the city from the foundation of the local meeting in 1652 by Thomas Briggs to the war years when a Christmas party was given for German women and children. Between the episodes are songs, written to well-known tunes.

In a foreword the Dean of Canterbury writes:

It does well to recall incidents in history, and movements of the Spirit of God among men, for which the Christian Church in particular, and all who love their fellow creatures in general, must ever be grateful.

WHY SINGLE OUT A.R.P.?

The Christian Pacifist and Air Raid Precautions. By the Research Group of Wallasey Christian Pacifist Fellowship. 3d. post free from 33 Sandy Lane, Wallasey.

After a careful survey of proposals for air raid precautions and criticisms of them, the Wallasey group conclude that it is a mistake to single out ARP for special attack, on the grounds that "the motives which prompt people to take part in ARP are nearest to our own."

For the moment they do not offer any rule as to conduct, except to suggest that the pacifist's own task will take up all his time and leave none for any sort of ARP training. They also remark that "Some pacifists feel that they will want to relieve suffering in war time but fear that their lack of ARP training will render them useless. Up to date it would appear that ordinary ARP training is not so very extensive as to make much difference."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations. Allen and Unwin. 10s.

Review of World Trade for 1937. League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service. Allen and Unwin. 2s. 6d.

These two volumes are important source books for those who deal in statistics. The Year-Book contains figures of population, labour, industrial production, trade, transport, and finance. The second book gives a general synopsis of trade during 1937 and compares the figures with those of preceding years.

PEACE CONGRESS REPORTS

Peace. July-August Special Number. National Peace Council. 4d.

Reports of the main speeches delivered at the 28th National Peace Congress held in Bristol, together with the resolutions of the congress are given in this 32-page issue of *Peace*. Special features include addresses by Lord Marley on "The Problem of Raw Materials"; Mr. W. Arthur Lewis on "The West Indies and Colonial Policy"; Professor Gilbert Murray, and the Rev. Henry Carter on "The League and its Future"; Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson on "The European Situation"; Mr. Ronald Kidd on "The Challenge to Civil Liberties" and the full text of the congress sermon delivered at St. Peter's Church, Bristol, by Canon C. E. Raven.

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A Woman's Point of View

by

MAIR SAKLATVALA

Appeal of the P.P.U. to the Worker—1

THE word "worker" is used in the title of this discussion for the want of a better. Our terms of reference here will be to consider the worker as a wage-earner, man or woman, who earns less than £5 a week, and who, for the most part, left school at fourteen or earlier.

Naturally all workers do not conform to this condition, but as a rough definition it will do well enough.

As workers make up nine-tenths of the total population of Great Britain, the appeal of the PPU to this section of the population has a certain seriousness as a topic for discussion.

These are the "masses." There is a certain contempt in that term—when it is used by the exploiter to mean the exploited, and when it is used by the reformer to mean the unreformed.

There is danger in this attitude of the reformer. The first danger is that of assuming one's ability to lead; the second is in the assumption that the masses are a mass—that they are a whole, a united force that can be used for good or evil.

"Masses" Not a Mass

ON the contrary the masses are individuals; true, they are alike in one thing, they sell their labour for a weekly wage, but within the nineteen millions of wage-earners there are conflicting loyalties, not conflicting unities.

The politically active or conscious are small in number—the opinions of the vast majority are unpredictable and unknown. This is admitted by political writers when they talk about the floating vote.

We hear a lot of the man in the street, but we suspect him of being the mystical creation of the man in Fleet Street—who has a weary and peculiar conviction that the popular press gives the masses what they want. I call this conviction peculiar because whenever one discusses newspapers with individuals who make up the mass, they all feel that it must be the next man who likes it, for they don't; it's there so they put up with it.

Why There is Apathy

THAT brings us to a second attribute of the workers, their apathy. There should be another word for the apathy of the workers because it is a far more honest, and far more positive quality than the apathy of the better-off and the better educated.

The apathy of the workers is a substitute for philosophy: "Life's one hard knock after another, so don't let them shake you too badly. You get 'done' in this world more often than not, so you can stop feeling surprised about it."

There is a certain humour in this apathy that makes it a difficult quality to come up against. When you shake it you're disturbing an attitude that experience has shown to be the most comfortable one in unbearable circumstances.

Another quality imputed to workers is irresponsibility. There is a certain amount of truth in this, but not as much truth as would-be leaders would like there to be. It is largely true that, as a class, the workers are not accustomed to responsibility; but the economic irresponsibility which is so often commented on has the wage packet at the bottom of it.

Life is lived in weeks and reckoned from Friday to Friday, and economic irresponsibility is the answer to the deadening hand-to-mouth business of existing. The pints in the pub, the bob on the horse, the seats in the cinema, may show improvidence and a lack of thrift; but it is possible to see them in another light—a challenging blow in the dreary face of things as they are.

It's a blow at something that swings back on Thursday and deals you a blow in return, but it is a challenge for all that.

Challenge to Capitalism

THE main challenge from outside to the apathy of the working class comes from socialism. It may only be a minority that is politically conscious, but it is a very active and strenuous minority.

The challenge of socialism is a vital challenge because it breaks down the defensive apathy by offering a new system of society—a system which strikes at the causes of poverty, insecurity, and war. The doctrine of an equal chance for all and of an economic system regulated by planning and not by profit means an end to that unholy trinity.

Capitalism relies on the method of war and to work for the removal of the capitalist system means that you work also for the removal of the method of war. This is where socialism and pacifism must meet.

The socialist seeks first the destruction of the capitalist system and thereby removes the necessity for the method of war—the pacifist, as represented by the PPU, renounces war as an individual and seeks to build on that foundation a new system of society.

The socialist and pacifist in one believes that the destruction of the capitalist system is necessary, but must hold that this destruction be accomplished by another method than that of war—by strike action, non-cooperation, and by civil disobedience, by a method of non-violence whose technique has not yet been fully worked out.

Next week I shall discuss this in relation to the Peace Pledge Union.

A P.P.U. MEMBER MAKES SOME SUGGESTIONS ABOUT

The Presentation of Pacifism

THOSE who attend their group meetings will be aware of the discrepancy between the number of members on the roll and the number that can be counted on to do any work.

In fact, in most groups it would be no exaggeration to say that inactive members far outnumber the active ones, even allowing for those who, for good reasons, are unable to do anything.

This is far from being a healthy state of affairs, and it seems to show that reconsideration of our methods is indicated. For, if we are unable to enlist the services of those who are in sympathy with us, how can we hope to convert an unsympathetic world to active pacifism?

It is one thing to secure the assent of a person's reason to certain principles; it is another, and far more difficult task, to convert the whole man to a positive belief in an ideal, so that he is fired with enough enthusiasm to move his will into action. The number of our members shows progress in the first and preliminary part of our task, but, insofar as these members are inactive, so far we have failed in the second part and completion of our task.

The solving of the problem of how to make more active pacifists, will not be easy and will call for a collective effort, to which the following suggestion, tentatively offered, are intended to serve as an introduction.

It is often said that pacifists should confine their activities to the question of peace and war and not worry their heads about social and similar questions. But this, surely, is wrong.

Pacifism touches life at all points. It can never remain an isolated question, and the more it is related to the affairs of the day, the more it is likely to appeal to the general public.

We need to create a pacifist environment to counteract the atmosphere of war. To do

I HAD turned into the Abbey as I often do these days to escape from the din of traffic, to forget the troublous distractions of the world, and to find a few moments of peace.

For despite the Abbey's monuments to military glory a peace steals over the spirit unfaithfully there, and I come forth into the streets again refreshed and with new hope. It was late on a summer evening and the few lingering visitors had departed one by one leaving me alone.

A last feeble shaft of the setting sun filtered in through the stained-glass windows and palely illumined the grey vastness of masonry and marble. The naves were utterly silent by now and soon the lamps would be lit; so I closed my eyes and cupped my hands about my face, for only in that way could I sense to the full the complete stillness of the place.

Then, although my lips breathed no sound nor any coherent thought formed in my mind there welled up in me an inexpressible prayer that the forces of sanity would triumph over the folly now rampant everywhere in a world of fear.

LOOKING up after a while, rested, I observed that I was no longer alone. A forlorn-looking figure of a man in shabby and bespattered garments darkly and curiously stained stood above me. He might have been of any age; I could not distinguish him clearly in the twilight.

"I was just going," I said, thinking that he might be one of the sextons.

"Don't go," he protested. "Do you come to give thanks for peace, brother?"

"I come here to find it. Do you find it here too, my friend?" I asked him.

"My place is here," he replied. "I found the peace of this place long

ago. I have been here for nearly twenty years. I never leave it."

"But how can that be?" I questioned. "Does the abbey keep you prisoner?"

"In a sense yes, for I am one" was his answer.

"But," I rejoined, "surely you see or hear something of the world outside: you have friends there?" "All friends of peace are my friends," he said.

"TELL me," he went on, "why do you come here for peace? Is there no peace outside, these days?"

"Precious little," I replied. "in a world that is arming as never before."

"War will not come again; have no fear," he said. "They made an end of that in 1918: at least, that is what I was given to understand."

"But surely you know how things are: you could not help knowing."

To this he replied: "You must forgive me, brother. Remember I am out of touch with the world today. What you say is unthinkable. Nobody who has seen war as I have seen it would let it happen again."

"That is the tragedy of it, friend: all the peoples of the world know of war's futility and horror but their leaders are again rushing them headlong into Armageddon."

"Then they must change their leaders or perish," he said, raising his voice for the first time.

"It is a case of blind leading the blind. There is fear everywhere," I told him.

"Have they forgotten their solemn vows of 'Never Again'?"

"Memories are short: how shall a new generation learn except by experience?" I asked him bitterly.

"If my generation has forgotten me then there is no peace for anyone—not even for the dead," he said in tones of ineffable sadness.

"But who are you?" was my final question.

"I am the unknown soldier," he answered, and turning from me wearily with head bent low, he was gone.

A. G.

Modern Miracle's

Value for Peace

AFTER listening to an hour of classical music played by the Stuttgart Radio Orchestra and relayed by the BBC, Mr. Sidney Gibbon, secretary of Newark-on-Trent group of the Peace Pledge Union, wrote on behalf of the group, a letter of appreciation to Stuttgart.

The reply from Germany declared that "Radio-Stuttgart is particularly proud of broadcasting good German music to all nations of good will," and expressed pleasure at the receipt of "so many kind letters from our English listeners."

Mr. Gibbon thinks other readers will agree with him that "it is a pity that broadcasting is not sufficiently used for building up that state of international understanding which would follow if the miracle of radio were properly utilized." He adds:

Many pessimists look upon peace as a miracle (and many do not believe in miracles!) but the real miracle is wireless communication. Peace is merely an everyday, practical possibility which we can obtain if we use our scientific miracles with common sense and humanity.

benefits of world pacifism, we must not neglect to convey, as adequately as we are able, the vision of a new world—pacifist ideals.

People will die for an ideal when the expectation of material benefits would leave them cold.

C. R. L. OGDEN.

Digging With the Unemployed

The need to demonstrate pacifism not simply as a way of thought but as a positive and constructive way of living was never more necessary than now. Only insofar as our beliefs can be interpreted in terms of everyday problems can we hope to carry very much conviction on the larger question of world issues. And, indeed, the two are too closely related to consider apart—pacifism, like charity, begins at home; the factors that lie at the root of social distresses are the same that in the long run promote wars.

In this series of articles PEACE NEWS will give personal stories by a number of individuals and groups who are carrying their principles into action in the field of unemployment and distress, and are in various ways interpreting pacifism as a whole way of life. The articles will describe how they are sharing the burden of those less privileged, building a bridge between "class" and "class," proving the regenerative value of human sympathy, demonstrating that pacifism can be a working policy here and now.

The experiments outlined show that the real solution of the vexed problems of unemployment begin with the individual—not on the plane of politics or economics, but quite simply on the level of simple human relationships. It is hoped that this series may be a stimulus to peace groups in suggesting useful ways and means to social action.

A NUMBER of agencies have done fine work during the past six or eight years in establishing allotments and small-holdings for unemployed men. The number of these plots now runs into hundreds of thousands.

But in spite of many encouraging results from such work, it is found in practice that a large proportion of the men taking up land-work of this kind become discouraged after a time.

The reason for this is sometimes psychological; the men feel that there is no-one who takes an interest in their work; they encounter difficulties of various kinds; and the subtle lethargy, which is one of the worst curses of the unemployed, takes hold upon them. Sooner or later they give up their plots in despair.

There is an even larger number of men who find after starting work, and perhaps after carrying it on for some time, that they are physically incapable of keeping it up. The reason is sometimes that are too old; sometimes that they have suffered too long from malnutrition; sometimes they are incapacitated as the result of accidents received while they were still in work; and sometimes they are too badly crippled as the result of war wounds.

In a typical smallholding association in South Wales, it was found that forty per cent of the men suffered under very severe handicaps in their land-work for one or other of these causes.

ORIGIN OF WORK CAMPS

IN 1931 a famous Swiss internationalist, Pierre Ceresole, brought an international team of students to the very hard-hit mining town of Brynmawr in South Wales, in order to help a group of unemployed men who had decided to undertake community-service work—in this case, the changing of a small garbage-filled valley into a public park.

From this beginning dates the movement for work camps, which has now spread far and wide, both to the depressed areas of our country and to India, America, and various countries of the Continent of Europe.

In 1933 the work camps began to give assistance to unemployed men in land-work; and the great majority of work camp teams now engage in this kind of service. In 1937 there were nearly three hundred teams at work in this way in Great Britain alone.

There are a number of organizations running work camps at which the students receive their board and lodging free, in return for the work which they do in community-service jobs of various kinds. The most notable of these agencies is the International Voluntary Service, founded by Pierre Ceresole himself.

But the great majority of work camp teams live as paying-guests in unemployed homes. These teams consist of groups of students from universities, public schools, secondary schools, or churches. There are also many teams composed merely of casually-gathered groups of friends, who do not belong to any educational or other institution.

HOW THEY LIVE

THERE are now hundreds of centres in the depressed areas where such teams have worked, and where they have given help of many kinds to the local people. They are billeted two by two in the homes of the members of the unemployed allotment associations, and they pay a small sum daily as paying-guests; this sum is not a for-profit payment, but is merely a recouping of money spent on food for the guest.

The billeting is done by the secretary of the allotment or small-holding associations which they are helping, and he makes any other local arrangements which may be necessary, including the apportioning of jobs.

The teams work from six to eight hours a day, generally at heavy digging, on behalf of the sick or incapacitated members of the allotment association to which they are accredited.

In the evenings, singsongs, of a very informal character, are held in the homes of the members of the allotment association.

by
JOHN S. HOYLAND

of Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham, who has organized work camps of students and others throughout the distressed areas and recorded their experiences in *Digging with the Unemployed* and *Digging for a New England*.

He says: "These work camps have resulted in the formation of many



invaluable inter-class friendships. In many cases the students have declared that their whole attitude has been changed . . ."

The picture here was taken at a work camp which John Hoyland helped to start in Spain last year.

On these occasions there is usually much community singing, and also an impromptu talk or two about local conditions from anyone who can be secured to come along and give his views—sometimes a clergyman, sometimes a Trade Union official, sometimes a local councillor, or even a member of Parliament.

In consequence, the members of the team have the opportunity of picking up much valuable first-hand information about what unemployment and industrial distress really mean.

A PACIFIST QUALIFIES FOR AIR RAID DUTIES

I volunteered for first-aid work in the event of war, not as an air raid warden primarily, though the latter takes the same preliminary course as all other ARP workers, from first-aiders to firemen.

Following this preliminary course—which has rather disappointingly been concerned solely with poison gases, anti-gas instruction, and decontamination—volunteers are to undergo training in the specialized spheres for which they originally offered their services.

In the words of our chief instructor, specialized training after the first course would vary in time taken "from two hours [yes, two!] for air raid wardens to sixty hours for auxiliary firemen." Thus it appeared that, but for two hours' further instruction I am now practically as much equipped in theoretical knowledge as an air warden is expected to be.

Should circumstances relating to my job indicate that I ought to become an air warden rather than be confined to a first-aid post, then I take it that two hours' further instruction would qualify me—a disturbing inadequacy, to my mind.

My present position is that of waiting to hear when the lectures in first-aid proper are about to start, and I shall be much relieved to begin learning facts of genuine, practical, and universal use.

THE class of which I was a member filled the class-room to overflowing during the first two lectures, but from that point it began to dwindle, until it appeared to be no more than half the original size, if that.

There were three types of respirator. We were shown all three. The "Service" type was the most expensive and serviceable, and would be used by outdoor workers (first-aid parties, rescue squads and the like).

The next best was called the "Civilian Duty." This would be used by indoor

LAST month we published an article by a London member of the Peace Pledge Union who had enrolled for ARP training. He had then attended the first of a preliminary course of six lectures. He has now completed this course, having been in the gas van and passed an oral examination, which qualifies him for the Air Raid Precautions Auxiliary Reserve of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. In this article he describes his experiences during the remainder of the course.

The writer believes it possible to take part in ARP as a humanitarian service and to retain his pacifist attitude to war, and explained his attitude in these words:

Should war come, despite all our efforts, I still cannot see the use of abandoning ourselves to frightful chaos. We shall still want to help sufferers, however inadequately, and that is why I cannot but carry on with this miserable ARP instruction. Having passed his examination, he says: "I wish I could feel my certificate was really worth something and that I should be of real use to suffering humanity if the need arose."

workers principally, we were told, who would not encounter quite such dangerous conditions as the outdoor people. The mask was excellent for its purpose.

WE were finally shown what I had been waiting for—the "General Civilian" gas-mask. This was not packed in a haversack as the other two were, but in a cardboard container. It was claimed for it that it was quite efficient for its purpose, which was to enable members of the public to get to shelter only

This mask cost about 2s. 6d., and would be issued free when an emergency was at hand. It did not have the removable eye-pieces of the other two masks, but a single wide window, made, we were informed, of cellulose acetate. This, said the lecturer, cracked easily when handled carelessly, and you can be sure that was the signal for a barrage of questions.

I asked if we would be permitted to test this civilian half-crown affair in the gas van when the time came. I did not, I regret to say, get a direct reply to this question.

As I said in my last article, the instructors were very conscientious and tried hard to answer all questions—and indeed, at the end of each lecture, actually pressed for questions.

But at this particular question, the lecturer turned to his colleague and said, rather uncomfortably, I thought: "Yes, I think I would go through the gas-chamber

EDUCATIONAL VALUE

THESE work camps have resulted in the formation of very many invaluable inter-class friendships. In many cases the students have declared that their whole attitude has been changed during the few days spent in such work in a distressed area.

Here, for instance, is an extract from a letter from a young army man:

I am writing to say how much I enjoyed the digging party which taught me a multitude of lessons. Brought up and living in such comparative security, I never before realized what an empty hopeless future some people have before them, and yet with what courage they face it. It has modified my whole outlook considerably.

Apart from such educational work, as it may be called, performed painlessly (apart from blisters) and almost unconsciously upon the minds of the members of the visiting teams, a great deal of practical help has been given in the actual land-work.

In many cases discouraged men have been stimulated to continue working their plots by the realization that someone cared enough for them to give up part of his holidays and come down to help.

One typical case was that of a man invalidated by arthritis, his wife also being an invalid. They were trying to keep their family together on 28s. a week, of which sum 10s. 6d. went on rent. There were nine in the family. They had given up working their plot in despair; but the digging done on it by a public school team put heart into them again.

In other cases, when land had been obtained for a group of men, but they had not as yet had the energy and courage to start working it, the presence of a team has enabled the new association to get going.

But the main impression left in the minds of all who have shared in this work is that of the cruel fate which has overtaken these unemployed fellow-countrymen of ours, and the courage and cheerfulness with which they are meeting it, together with the generous kindness which they have shown to us visitors.

NEXT WEEK: A Summer Day at Bleaden, by Bert Over.

with this mask, wouldn't you?" The other nodded, and said yes, he thought he would, too.

At an earlier lecture, we were told we should be given a choice of two gas-masks for the gas chamber, the "Service" and the "Civilian Duty" (not "Civilian" as my first account stated).

Actually, when the gas chamber experience arrived, only one type of mask was available—the "Service" type.

WE went into the gas van eight at a time, first into an air-lock and then into the van itself. There an instructor in a mask ignited something and a tear-gas ("CAP") was released.

We stayed in the van for five minutes. The mask, I must say, permitted easy breathing, and beyond a definite pricking, burning sensation on my neck, I felt no effects of the gas.

About fifty percent submitted themselves for examination. We were charged 1s. 6d. each!

A woman examined me on the effects of mustard gas on the skin, on the disinfecting of masks, on decontamination centres, on the paralyzing gases which might be encountered as incidentals in wartime, and so on.

A fellow student was quite disgusted at the brevity of the examination, but I was plied with about a dozen questions, most of which I was able to answer more or less satisfactorily.

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM

Dr. A. D. Beiden's final article under the heading "Speaking Personally"

It is never possible to make a distinction between what is Christian and not Christian with absolute dogmatism. Christianity insists upon judging by the spirit rather than by the letter or form, and, since we are able to see only the externals of other folk's behaviour, it is all too easy for us to be mistaken in one another.

Christ himself warned us to "judge not." He also met cooperation generously.

"He that is not against us is for us," he said, and he once told a parable of two sons, one of whom promised to work in his father's vineyard and did not keep his promise, and the other of whom said he would not, but actually did; and though it may be a third and better alternative both to promise and to do, when it comes to a choice between those who merely talk and those who really do, we know which is the more genuine.

Furthermore, the Christian attitude is full of a serene confidence in the action of spiritual forces and the operation of spiritual laws, so that truth or falsity take care of themselves, and consequently there is less interest in labelling folk with painful accuracy. What we must try to make sure of is self-judgment and the measure of our belief in Christianity will be the measure of our conviction that its presence or absence is a vital matter.

CHRISTIAN pacifism is a definite, positive attitude toward humanity; it is not an optional form of Christianity, certainly not a freakish form of it, but rather it expresses that change of heart which belief in Christ induces in human nature.

This change can be fairly strictly defined, for it turns the soul away from the chronic self-centredness which nature produces in it, in her process of creating the individual, and toward a genuine personal enthusiasm of love toward its human fellows wherever found.

It is the change-over, to quote Benjamin Kidd, from the individual-efficient-in-its-own-interests to the individual-efficient-in-the-interests-of-others.

There is thus produced a new humanity, characterized by a dynamic condition of such passionate good will that it can never remain mere "do-nothingism."

However limited its action may be by circumstances or by oppression, its good will remains a ceaseless vibration of spiritual force capable of interpenetrating all human souls. It thus definitely raises the temperature of all human relationships, and its effects in history in this way have been repeatedly remarkable.

It was not, for example, merely the suffering of the Christian martyrs which gave them such notable victory at times over the humanity about them, it was rather the love for their fellows vibrating through their witness and displayed in their suffering which made them so often irresistible.

CHRISTIAN pacifism, therefore, is much more than a refusal to fight. It is, of course, that—its attitude of good will to all men makes it impossible for them to coerce mind or body.

It is a great mistake to regard this as a purely negative attitude, which is the kind of slipshod criticism that is often levelled at it. It is, of course, not nearly so negative as T.N.T.

The Apostle James says in his Epistle, "He who said 'do not commit adultery' also said 'do not kill.'" We have heard no complaints from ecclesiastics that to refuse to steal is a purely negative attitude; it is, of course, a most positive form of honesty, and the refusal to fight is simply the negative way of demonstrating the positive good will of the Christian pacifist.

We cannot stress too greatly that this good will is an active force in the world. Where it is maintained with purity of motive and a selfish devotion its alliance with the deeper forces of the universe, forces that come as near to being supernatural as any we know, is constantly being demonstrated.

Curiously enough, the biographical records of the great missionary societies are replete with instances of this kind. Mary Slessor among the savages of the African forest, John Paton among the natives of the Hebrides, Theodore Pennell on the North-West frontier of India, are but three of a multitude who have demonstrated the

power of Christian pacifism amongst the most degraded and wild of the human species.

Here, for illustration, is a story that came to me only recently. An officer of the Irish Republican Army came to a real belief in Jesus Christ and proceeded at once to put right his relationships with humanity as far as he could.

He was compelled to withdraw from his part in a plot to murder certain outstanding enemies and, further, to disclose to the police the existence of an ammunition dump.

Having thus fulfilled his new conscience he voluntarily gave himself up to his former companions and told them what he had done and why he had done it.

They were so impressed by his testimony that he was able to leave their presence uninjured though he fully expected to be shot out of hand.

He later suffered three courts-martial by his late colleagues, but on each occasion they were utterly unable to decide what to do with him, and he has been allowed to go free to follow his new way of life.

HIS Grace the Archbishop of York said not so very long ago in Convocation that there were times when it might be the Christian's duty to kill. It is difficult for the Christian pacifist to believe that without carrying the same obligation over

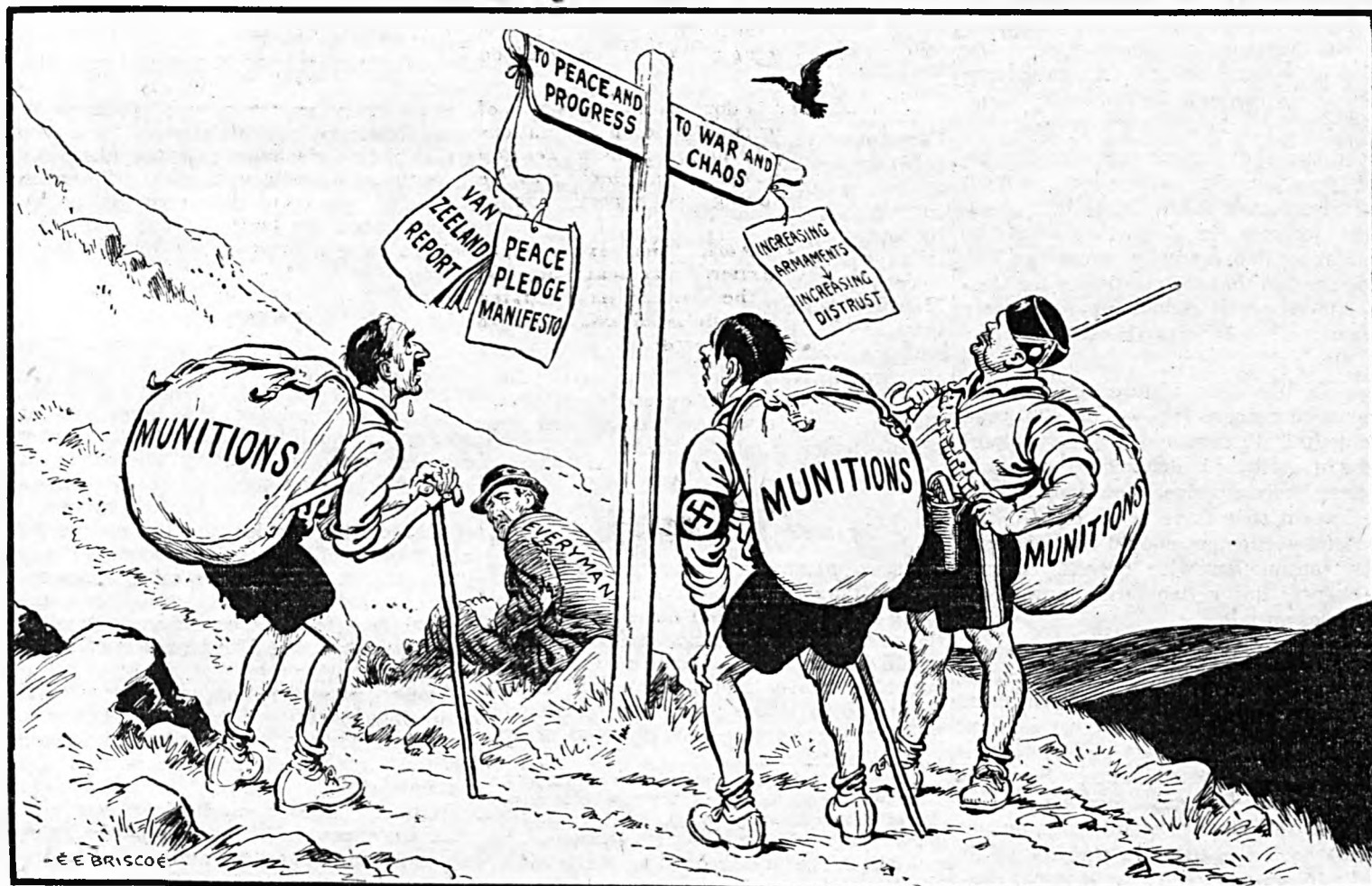
relationships and the provision of machinery for human conference, discussion, and reorganization.

In Christian pacifism there is none of that unholy fear which leads to the appalling distraction of human energy and resource which is represented by the upkeep of armies and navies, colossal rearmament and preparations for war.

And as a matter of history it has not been your middle-way seekers who have promoted the peace movements of the modern world. Without the Society of Friends there would have been no Hague Conferences, no League of Nations movement, and it is safe to say that the so-called constructive peace policies that cluster around the League will steadily decay into the merest opportunism and be lost in the welter of the economic struggle unless there is kept behind them the ruthless insistence of a pacifism that is religious and Christian.

THE progress of Christian pacifism in the churches, whilst it is slow, is perhaps all the healthier for being that. The issue is too fundamental, too transforming of personality and life, to be decided shallowly or quickly.

A landslide of new adherents in big numbers might be superficially welcome, but might be at last tragically disappointing. This is the kind of warfare in which Gideon's last army and not his first is more likely to win. Nevertheless, our progress is not inconsiderable.



THE TWO WAYS - WHICH?

Drawn by E. E. BRISCO.

into the life of our Lord himself.

Yet nothing is more certain than that if Jesus had been a killer, for any reason whatsoever, instead of going to the Cross with his love for humanity perfectly maintained, there would have been no Christian gospel of redemption, indeed, no Christian religion at all.

No such gospel could have gathered about one who had behaved, or even suffered, simply as another Barrabas, however noble his cause might be. All the finest Christianity in history, the golden vein of purest testimony to Christ, has been of the same quality as that cross.

If the Archbishop's verdict had been really characteristic of Christianity there would have been no Christian martyrs in the Roman arena, for they would have taken to violence, if only in the defence of their families; there would have been no St. Francis of Assisi, no William Penn, no George Fox, no David Livingstone, for indeed there would have been no Christian Church and, tragic thought, no Archbishops of York or Canterbury!

Jesus said once "Blessed are the pacifists for they shall be called the children of God." No! that is not a mis-quotation—"Pacifist" is only the Latin form of that word "peacemaker"; it is one of the most positive words under the sun!

This is why included in the Christian pacifist programme, there must be the most energetic pursuit of all constructive policies designed to remove occasions for strife amongst mankind, for the promotion of just and honourable

The formation of Christian pacifist groups in every Protestant denomination in the country, which are focussed into a national council, has produced a quite formidable body which is pressing the issue strongly in the respective denominations.

Probably between two and three thousand ministers and clergy in the country are ardent pacifists. The numbers in the United States of America are nearer 18,000. Nor must it be forgotten that large numbers of the keenest members of the Peace Pledge Union have their roots in the churches. The Christian pacifist world-church is in the making.

TWO other considerations in conclusion.

Christian pacifism is genuinely scientific. It is becoming increasingly certain that if you attempt to solve human problems on the level of mere physics, you are compelled to surrender yourself more and more into the hands of the laws of physics.

Now, one of the chief of these is so well known as to be hackneyed, namely, "action and reaction are equal and opposite." All purely physical action emerges at last as a balance of forces ready for a fresh contest which will again simply rearrange the balance of forces. In the physical realm there is, strictly speaking, no progress; things are moved from here to there and then from there to here.

Types of Pacifism—3

This is the bankruptcy of the war method, and of brutal violence between individuals, for humanity. In human disputes, "nothing is ever settled" until it is settled right," and right in this sense means right for personality.

An interesting proof of the foregoing is to be found in the many instances in history where physical victory has resulted in spiritual defeat and physical defeat in spiritual victory; thus Rome defeated Greece but succumbed spiritually to Greek culture. But perhaps the latest illustration is the most impressive.

The Allies won the Great War materially—a war that was definitely directed to the abolition of militarism—and yet the victorious Powers are now engaged upon the most gigantic rearmament in their history; they have surrendered to the militarism they defeated in the wrong way.

Overcoming evil by evil only multiplies the evil: we can only "overcome evil by good."

Finally, the Christian pacifist is bound to regard his attitude to humanity as of the very essence of the Christian gospel. It is the only attitude that does perfect honour to the character of God revealed in Jesus Christ and that harmonizes with the infinite mercy upon sinful humanity revealed in the Cross of Christ. Any other attitude than this simply riddles Christianity with inconsistency and sinks it to the level of a pagan faith.

The Christian pacifist knows exactly the kind of world that he is seeking to achieve. Its blueprint lies clear in the person and character and attitudes of Jesus Christ.

He takes his stand upon the inviolable love of God for all mankind and seeks to repeat that love with equal inviolability to all his fellows. He is conscious of a clear-cut social ideal and is serving it in humble dependence upon almighty God with an unshakable belief in the reality of moral and spiritual forces. Is any other kind of pacifism likely to win the war against war?

ARTHUR WRAGG

will be the next writer

under the heading

"Speaking Personally"

His first article will

appear

NEXT WEEK

RECALL TO RELIGION

A challenge to Christians appears on a new poster published by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds and the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. It reads: "RECALL TO RELIGION £2,000,000,000 spent on battleships, aeroplanes, tanks, poison gas, submarines, bombs—CAN 'THY KINGDOM COME ON EARTH' THIS WAY?"

Declarations of the Society of Friends on the subject of peace and war from as far back as 1660 up to 1938, are contained in a leaflet just published (price 3d. per dozen, 2s. per 100) by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds and the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:-

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

July 30, 1938.

Central Europe's Need

IF there is a more hopeful feeling over the Czechoslovak problem, nothing can be gained by minimizing the enormous obstacles which still stand in the way of a final settlement. The latest demands formulated by the Sudeten Germans have been published by them and they show no tendency to compromise. On the other hand the Nationalities Statute is in the process of completion and enough is now known of its contents to show that there is a very big gap between the parties.

There is a real danger that the Czechoslovak proposals may in appearance meet the greater part of the Sudeten German demands, whereas in fact they may be nothing more than a window-dressing effort to hide the fact that the position of the German minority will remain approximately the same. This is what the Germans are expecting.

The Reich stands behind the Sudeten Germans and there can be no European settlement if France and Britain support Prague in anything which is not thoroughly and completely genuine. Germany has let it be known that there is no reason why a peaceful settlement should not be possible in conjunction with herself, Britain, and France; but collaboration with Germany is essential.

It seems that a possible solution may be achieved by neutralization of Czechoslovakia along Swiss lines, with a guarantee against aggression given jointly by Britain, France, Germany, and Italy in place of the present Czecho-Soviet alliance. But ultimately the only real guarantee against aggression is the removal of injustice, and in any case such a solution as that indicated would only be possible if the internal constitutional system was perfectly satisfactory. The issue is rendered the more dangerous by Czechoslovakia's place in the power-politics system of alliances which at present obtains in Europe. To break that system an initiative is needed on the part of one of the greater nations: if the appointment of LORD RUNCIMAN to advise the Czech Government represents such an initiative, it is to be welcomed.

Preparing for Peace

WHEN MUSSOLINI visited HITLER in September last year he said:

There are no ulterior motives behind my journey and no secret intentions. There will be no scheming here which might tend to menace a divided Europe still more. The confirmation of the Rome-Berlin Axis is not directed against other States.

In answer to the question posed by the whole world, "What will be the outcome of the meeting in Berlin, war or peace?" we reply in a loud voice "Peace."

On July 19 this year when he made a State visit to France, KING GEORGE VI said:

Our peoples have the same attachment to democratic principles which are best suited to their national genius. . . . At the same time there is nothing exclusive in the understanding between us; our friendship is directed against no other Power.

On the contrary it is the ardent desire of our governments to find a solution of those political problems which threaten the peace of the world. . . .

It is thus in the cause of peace that the two camps in Europe are preparing for war at an ever-increasing pace.

WHAT EXPERIENCE TEACHES US ABOUT

Pacifism and Peace-making

THE discussion of an adequate basis for pacifism—whether political, humanitarian, or religious, prompts me to lend a hand.

Such excellent and overwhelming arguments against war have been proffered upon all these grounds that one would expect the unconverted to be confined to the irrational or sub-normal minds of Europe.

Actually, an overwhelming majority, so far as political or newspaper expression of opinion represents the public, is against war, but in favour of armed defence.

So that one is driven to the conclusion either that pacifism has failed to make a rationally convincing case, or that certain sub-rational factors in the public or personal mind have not been reckoned with.

MR. GLADSTONE stated, in a letter to Lord Aberdeen during the Crimean War, that every war had been popular in England for the first twelve months at least. Some of us remember the South African war, which appeared to contemporary opinion in Europe about as wanton and unjustifiable as Mussolini's attack on Abyssinia.

Yet the Opposition in the House of Commons was at first confined to a mere half-dozen who had the courage to vote against supplies. When the reaction came in 1905, with its majority, largely recruited by anti-war speeches, of over 350, the triumph of pacifism seemed complete.

Yet it was in 1912 that the famous Mansion House speech of Mr. Lloyd George brought us within sight of a European war, and in August, 1914, we had already aroused civil war in Ireland, acute industrial strife in England and sectarian strife in Wales dividing every town and village over the disestablishment of the Church.

THE mentality of war was in our midst, fuel for the conflagration before a gun boomed in Belgium.

We little thought that Mr. Lloyd George, the radical pacifist of South African days, would become the advocate of the knock-out blow policy and the sponsor of the Treaty of Versailles. How can we account for it? There is a searching word of Mr. H. G. Wells:

It is an infallible sign of the natural man that he thinks he is united when he is united against something.

So many of our alliances, unions, and unionisms are united only by the sense of having a common fear of a common enemy.

Our precarious united fronts against fascism look all very well, but on examination they have no united backs, and disintegration is only a matter of time and development.

How far is our anti-war movement based on a positive, real and enduring unity?

I REMEMBER my first disillusionment as to the pacifist united front in 1917.

After passing through guard-rooms, courts-martial, and condemnation to two years' hard labour, and finally reaching Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, one was prepared to "love the ally with the heart of a brother" (as the school song puts it) and to regard one's fellow prisoners and conscientious objectors as part of the impregnable rock of resistance.

My first whispered word in prison was when a fellow CO asked me if I was "a political or religious objector."

"Religious," I replied, "are you?"

"No," he answered scornfully. "When the court-martial asked me if I had any objection to killing, I answered, 'No, I'd kill the whole bloody lot of you, but I won't fight the capitalists' war, and I shoved the table over at them.'"

I REMEMBERED the friendliness of the sergeants, the courtesy of the old colonel at the barracks (where I had drilled the militia in old days), the comradeship of

toughs and drunks in the guard-room, and the sad, troubled reluctance with which friends and kinsmen had given up security and ease to do what they felt was their duty on desperate fields in Suvla Bay or Palestine. And I was quite sure that I had more of a united back with those friends, than with my new-found ally at Wormwood Scrubbs.

At Dartmoor Prison the united front was still more distinguished.

There were propagandists or prophets there of dozens of political or religious sects, largely concerned to denounce one

by
George M. Ll. Davies

another. In the absence of any Right wing, the Left wing was divided into many feathers of an uncommonly queer bird.

The ILP denounced the Labour Party; the SLP denounced the ILP; the communist denounced both; the communist anarchist abhorred them all; the IWW and the individualist anarchist waged guerrilla warfare.

Such unity as there was appeared in cross-section friendships between those who either had no ideologies or whose humanity or faith could find a unity amid differences.

Finally, an acute difference on policy disintegrated the united front and mass politics were a drug on the market for a season.

IT HUS realized that when pacifism ended in a unity "again the government," the work of real peace-making had yet to begin.

When one thinks of War allies now at enmity, of political allies and pacifist pioneers since so bitterly alienated; of pacifism on the Continent, so often associated with defeatism or class war sabotage; of all the conflict of ideas and ideologies for a new order of Society; one wonders if any united front, which seeks safety in numbers, in abstract political, social, or theological ideas, or in mere policy, can be saved from the inevitable disintegration of Unity Against.

These desolating remembrances and reflections might well bring the pacifist to despair, if there were no alternative to the political method of mass movements and antagonisms.

With an almost mechanical certainty mass movements, like military power, bring an equal and opposite reaction, first in the mind and then in open conflict.

As Czarism produces a communism, so similar in ruthlessness, despotism, secret police, concentration camps, and the rest, so national socialism imitates the name and methods of the socialism it abhors in Russia, and fear breeds fear, and ruthlessness ruthlessness, and dictatorship dictatorships.

EARL BALDWIN recently confessed that, in his weariness and unrest of mind after retirement, he had turned to Wordsworth's *Prelude*, which he had read, word by word, to find rest and reality. Lord Grey, after retirement, makes a similar confession.

Why should eminent and disillusioned politicians turn to a poet, like the old kings turned to a monastery.

It is because Wordsworth and Coleridge, disillusioned by the almost complete reaction from idealism to atheism, to militarism, to despotism, while they had witnessed in the French Revolution, turned desperately away from the ideologies that had captured their undergraduate enthusiasm, to find reality in the actual living personalities they saw around them?

It was trite enough to say that "The proper study of mankind is man," but to break away from all attempts at mass solutions, general policies, crowd antagonism, and to study the poor man, the just man, the heroic man, was another affair.

But there it was that they beheld the working of the leavening example of character and conduct in obscure and difficult places, keeping human society sweet and sane, amid the barbaric herd struggles

of demagogues and dictators for the levers and slogans of mass power in 1798 and after.

Henceforth their problem was the evolution and emancipation of persons from the tyrannies and hypnotisms of systems and society, not by outward revolution which merely revolves, but by reinforcement and enlightenment of soul from the darkness of hate to the light of right reason and love.

One wishes that pacifists would study *The Prelude*, that most searching narrative of the evolution of heart and mind.

IT seems, in spite of the promises of demagogues and dictators, that there are no short cuts to life and growth. We must see with our own reason, feel with our own hearts and act with our own wills.

No party or sect can promise us security as passengers to the Promised Land, to which we must walk on our feet or climb on our knees.

"How small a part of all that hearts endure the laws can cure," and how little the laws, even with prison and gallows, can do to prevent the effectual influence of personal consistency and character.

Niemöller is more of a power in the hearts of men than if he were an orthodox Primate of Germany, and Dick Sheppard than if he had been a conventional Archbishop of Canterbury. But it is the power of light and heaven, not of levers of authority.

IF the Peace Pledge Union is not to share the fate of political anti-war movements, it will look, not so much to systems and constitutions, resolutions, and numbers; it will seek rather to proffer characters, as the forerunners and example of its faith embodied in a life—men like George Lansbury today, Dick Sheppard yesterday, John Woolman and William Penn in the dark days of slavery or of civil war.

Yet all these embodiments of peace-making would be the first to confess that "they see in part and prophesy in part." If their achievement is uncertain their direction and spirit is clear. For the complete achievement of the peacemaker, in the face of all that injustice and oppression can do, those men looked to another figure who claimed he had conquered the world at its worst.

It is surely in this faith in the possibilities and preciousness of human personality and in its redemption from the merely animal gregariousness of the herd-mind and its passions and fears, that the really religious attitude to life consists.

It may be true that religious sects have shown unedifying examples of relapses into conformity with the fashion of the world in times of war or peace. But in their profession at least, and often in heroic practice, they have asserted the sacredness of the soul rather than the State and have revered the suffering prophetic "remnant" of faithful men rather than the popular leaders of kingdoms and crowds.

AS the Master of Balliol has shown, the best part of our British democratic constitutionalism, from which Continental democracy took its example and pattern, consisted not merely in the mechanics of counting heads and of one man, one vote, but in the freedom of discussion and in reaching settlements by consent, in which "the poorest he in the land hath as much right to be heard as the richest he." And this experience and practice of achieving unity amid diversity had first been realized in those persecuted religious assemblies of nonconformists, where all were accounted equal in opportunity in the sight of God.

The PPU as an organization may be dissolved at any hour in the advent of war, and its publications and propaganda forbidden and its leadership dispersed.

At that hour its strength and purpose will depend on the witness and faithfulness of its individual members who have ceased to depend on numbers or status, but who retain their faith in friendship and forgiveness and truth rather than in force and penalties, as the supreme sanctions of human society and of personal emancipation.

Officers in Schools: More Facts

NAVY MOVES AROUSE OPPOSITION

How Pacifists Can Act

By WILFRED WELLOCK

MY two previous articles on the question of retired naval and military officers giving talks on army and navy careers to boys in elementary schools has brought me many very interesting and informative letters.

Some of this information has led me to make certain inquiries, as a result of which I am now able to give a reliable account of what has taken place regarding this issue, and to state the present position.

It would appear that the Admiralty, lacking recruits, hit upon the idea of using ex-officers to tour the schools in order to place before boys the attractiveness of a naval career.

As the result of complaints from school headmasters, the National Union of Teachers, some twelve months ago, took up the matter with the Board of Education. The Board took the view of the NUT, and at once communicated with the Admiralty.

The Admiralty, evidently annoyed, declined to give up the practice, however, with the result that the NUT made further complaints. Eventually a conference was called, consisting of representatives of the Board of Education, the Ministry of Labour, the three Fighting Services, the NUT, and the Association of Education Committees.

PROPAGANDA CONTINUED

At that conference, I understand, the Board of Education and the Ministry of Labour sided with the NUT. But it came out at this conference that the deciding authority on this particular issue was the local education committee.

Accordingly ever since, the Admiralty has continued its policy of penetrating the schools with its propaganda—for propaganda it is—in so far as it has been able to secure the consent of local education committees. The situation is, therefore, that this issue has to be fought out in the localities.

The main objections of the NUT to the Admiralty policy are:

1. That as children attend primary schools under compulsion and are obliged to listen to whatever is put before them in the form of secular instruction, the State (through the central or local authority) must be careful not to subject children to propaganda to which their parents might reasonably object;
2. That the navy offers no jobs for boys of fourteen, and that therefore the object of the talks must be to stimulate recruiting later on;
3. That if naval officers are permitted to enter the schools it opens the door to everybody else to do likewise.

PACIFISTS' DUTY

This situation places upon local organizations like Peace Pledge Union groups a duty to take appropriate action should an attempt be made by the Admiralty to secure the right to send ex-officers into their schools.

During the last few days I have received an interesting and encouraging account from the PPU secretary in Beckenham of a fight that is at present being made in that area against the decision of the local education committee to allow ex-naval officers to lecture in the schools.

So successful has the opposition been that at a recent meeting of the committee at which letters of protest from various local organizations, including the PPU, were read (and reported in the local press), a notice of motion was accepted, and passed without opposition, that the matter be rediscussed at a later meeting; the whole question to stand in abeyance meanwhile.

It is interesting to note that the above-



Max Plowman addressing the crowd in Hyde Park (photo by ALAN)

All the Pictures

NEXT week's issue of PEACE NEWS will be a special Manifesto campaign number. Special features will include:

- Full page of pictures;
- Message from the President of the Peace Pledge Union (George Lansbury);
- "How to Consolidate the Gains," by the chairman (Canon Stuart D. Morris);
- Impressions of the campaign;
- Peace Pledge Union Manifesto in full.

To make sure of securing your copy, please order at once. And please—Tell your friends about it!

mentioned letters of protest contained the following requests:

West Wickham Labour Party: "I am to ask for the reversal of the committee's decision and/or to be informed of the dates and times when the speaker will be lecturing and to request that a representative of my party may be present to hear the talk so as to safeguard the interests of the children of our members."

Beckenham, Penge and District Trades Council: "I have been instructed to request your committee to extend to my council permission to address the school on the subject of trade unions and their functions, &c."

These requests call for mention of another letter I have received from a headmaster (whom I will not name) who, after describing his experience on this issue, informs me that, should his education committee after all send an ex-naval officer into his school, he will see that "appropriate questions are put to him," and that following his visit, an opportunity shall be given to his boys to hear about other careers.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

In cases where this issue arises in future I would suggest that the PPU group or groups in the area meet at once and discuss the wisdom of communicating with such local organizations as the Labour Party, trades council, League of Nations Union, Women's Cooperative Guild, various trade unions, ministers' fraternal, and so on according to circumstances, with a view to securing either common or individual action.

The matter is extremely important and the Beckenham experience shows what can be done.

I learn from the Gloucester Gazette that "East Ham Education Committee declines to allow school lectures on the navy as a career."

I should like to express my appreciation and thanks to all those friends who have so kindly supplied me with valuable information.

By the way, I wonder how it is that all the cases of attempted "intervention" of which I have had notice have occurred in the South. Is the North immune? If so, why?

BEST PROCESSION POLICE CHIEF HAD SEEN

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

THERE is no doubt that a tremendous impression was created by the marchers and the decorated cars and cycles that accompanied the PPU Manifesto coach to Hyde Park on Sunday.

The Chief Commissioner of Police for the Hampstead area declared it was one of the best processions he had ever seen (and he'd seen some!)—partly because it was so orderly, but chiefly because he had never seen so many decorated cars taking part in a procession.

About forty cars and some cyclists met the coach at the Finchley Road end of the Watford By-Pass. They left there for Hyde Park at about 2 o'clock.

1,000 MARCHERS

At about the same time the marchers left St. John's Wood, further along the route.

Numbering about a thousand, they all carried yellow and green banners (except for a band of poster-bearers).

The fine show made by the banners immediately attracted the attention of people along the route, who soon learned "what it was all about" from distributors of leaflets and sellers of PEACE NEWS.

As the marchers proceeded down Baker Street, the Manifesto coach, with its retinue of cars and cycles—also made gay with yellow and green streamers and banners—caught up with them.

The nearer the cavalcade drew to its destination the greater became the crowds, and countless thousands of people must have seen the procession.

TRAFFIC HELD UP

At Hyde Park Corner PEACE NEWS sellers had already posted themselves at the gates, and about 2.40 they and other PPU members raised a cheer as the marchers appeared.

Traffic was held up and crowds of people watched as they entered the park, to be followed by the coach and the cars.

The finest sight of all was undoubtedly when the marchers made their way across the park to the scene of the demonstration. In the open space the mass effect of the banners, flying in the breeze, was seen at its best, and from all directions people flocked to hear the message of the PPU, which had shown so magnificently that peace, too, has its pageantry.

PACIFIST CONVENTIONS

The Parliamentary Pacifist Group has arranged conventions to be held as follows:

SWANSEA, September 24.

STOKE, October 8.

LEEDS, October 22.

CARLISLE, October 29.

CAMBRIDGE, November 26.

CARDIFF, December 3.

The last date is provisional.

FOR WELSH READERS

A Oes Heddwch?

Gan

Y Parch. R. J. Jones

CYN coroni Bardd Y Bryddest, a chadeirio Bardd yr Awdl, bydd yr Archdderwydd yn gofyn i'r dorf "A Oes Heddwch?" a'r dorf hithau yn ateb ag unllais "Heddwch!" Mynega'r floedd uchel y peth sydd yng nghalon Gwerin Cymru. Bod ar delerau da a phawb ydyw ei hawydd pennaf; a chred mai dyna sydd yng nghalon gwerin pob gwlad.

Tu allan i bafiliwn yr Eisteddfod, fodd bynnag, y mae swm paratoi i ryfel; ac y mae hyn yn cynhyrchu ofn ym mynnes y bobl. Gwyddom yn dda na fynnwyr ni ymosod ar neb; ac ni wyddom ychwaith pwyr sydd am ymosod arnom ninnau. Yr ydym yn hollol sicr nad yw'r boll yn unrhyw wlad yn dymuno niweidio'i gilydd.

Gobeithiai pawb fod diwedd y Rhyfel Mawr wedi gweld diwedd ar ryfel fel modd i setlo gwahaniaethau; a dywedai rhai o'r arweinwyr mai dyna pahan yr aethpwyd i ryfel i ddechrau, a thrwy ryfel i wneuthur y byd yn lle diogel i'r werin. Gwelwn yr awr na lwyddwyd yn un o'r ddau amcan.

Ar ol distewi o drwst y gad, daeth y gwleidyddion yng nghyd i Versailles i glirio'r difrod, a thynnu allan delerau heddwch; ac ym mhen tipyn aeth y gwleidydd ar eu llw nad aent i ryfel byth mwy: Erbyn hyn, sut bynnag, dywedir wrthym na fyddwn yn saff heb i ni fod yn barod i ymladd eto.

Yr un hen stori ydyw hon; a chyhyd ag y credir hi, bydd y gwleidydd yn gwario'u holl adnoddau yn y ras arfau. Arfer rhyfel ydyw codi mwy o anhawsterau nag y mae yn setlo. Pe gwelai'r bobl y ffaith hon, byddem ar y ffordd i sicrhau ymwared oddi wrth ormes arfau.

Os dywed rhywun na allwn lai nag ymladd pan ymysyd rhyw wlad arall arnom, atebwn y dylem geisio gweld pahan y byddai unrhyw wlad am wneyd hynny. Yn hytrach na thybio bod rhyfel arall yn anochel, doethach fyddai wynebu unrhyw gwynion a ddichon yrru'r gwleidydd i ryfel. Ar ol pob rhyfel cynhelir cynhadledd i drafod cytundeb heddwch.

Gwyddom fod problemau dyrys yn blino Ewrop a'r byd, a bod rhai gwleidydd yn credu eu bod yn cael cam. Onid ynn rhesymol fyddai galw cynrychiolwyr y gwleidydd at ei gilydd i wynebu'r problemau nyn mewn gwaeid oer? Pe gwneid hyn, nid yw rhyfel yn anochel o gwbl.

Y mae yna rai pobl ddigon onest na feddyliodd y gall fod siarad yn well na saethu, a bwrdd cynhadledd yn well na bomio. Y peth i'w wneyd gyda rhai felly ydyw ceisio agor eu llygaid; ac fe gredant, o bydd i lawer o bobl ddywedyd yr un peth wrthynt.

Yn y pendraw, daw'r llywodraethwyr i gydnabod barn y lliaws; ac os bydd y lliaws yn ffafrio ffordd rheswm ac ewylls da, ni fydd y gwleidyddion yn hir cyn llunio polisi ar yr egwyddorion hynny.

Os dywed rhywun fod hyn yn iawn, pe ceid pobl gwleidydd eraill i wneyd yr un peth, dywedwn mai'r ffordd i'w cael i gefnogi heddwch ydyw rhoddi esiampl iddynt. Ni fydd y son yn hir yn cerdded. Lle bach ydyw'r byd yn awr; a gwy'r pob gwlad beth a ddigwydd yn y gwleidydd eraill. Clywant heddiw am ein cynlluniau arfogi, ac arfogant hwythau. Byddai'n llawer gwell ganddynt ddeall ein bod a'n bryd ar gynnig ffordd ragorach.

Rhodded Cymru eu pwysau ar ochr y mudiad heddwch, a gallant lwyddo i newid osgo'r wlad hon. Profodd y polisi arfau yn fethiant. Mawr fydd gogoniant y wlad a arweinio'r byd ar hyd y ffordd Gristnogol. Cenhadaeth heddwch yw cyfraniad Cymru i fywyd y byd. Ymunwch a'r mudiad heddwch fel y bo'r genhadaeth hon yn llwyddiant!

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Enfield, Middlesex.

WRITE FOR OTHER LITERATURE
AND INFORMATION OF THE WORK.

Is Your Child Worth a Penny?

Our Basque House has now been running for over a year, and sixty children are still enjoying the hospitality of the Peace Pledge Union at Langham, near Colchester.

Gallant foster-parents have supported and cared for these children. Members of the Union have sent a steady stream of donations. Yet we can hardly keep pace with the urgent and daily needs of our large family.

We now appeal to our membership to fill our almost empty purse—by sending to our Basque Fund one penny for every child they have; or one penny for every child they wish they had.

LET THE CHILDREN HELP OUR
BASQUE CHILDREN.

Send your contribution to:—

THELMA NIKLAUS,
BASQUE FUND,
PEACE PLEDGE UNION,
96 REGENT STREET,
W.1.

Under the Oak Tree By LEONARD READ

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

A NOTE from the laundry, displaying some of the flunkeyism natural to our larger emporiums, informed us of the staff's holiday thus:

We greatly apologize for any inconvenience which the holidays may put to our customers, but we feel sure that it is to the interest of the customer and the laundry to close the works for the week August 1-7.

During the grand exodus "por las vacaciones" we shall "close the works" for one week, but to the great pleasure of the "customers" who will be meeting many of the "staff" for the first time. But the other half of the "customers" will be occupying the "works." Now the conference means nothing to me (I hope it is true that John Barclay has no time to read PEACE NEWS!)—nothing until the children are safely out of harm's reach, and the avalanche arrives in very truth.

This holiday will, I believe, be a great success, and a notable event in the chronicle of Basque House. It is a flattering unctious to the soul to recall that the PPU was almost the first to establish a colony, first in the field in securing adoptions, and in arranging holidays with foster-parents. Now all has been done except to send a letter to foster-parents, full of precepts and warnings. In the persuasion that it would be superfluous I have not broadcast my advice. Several parents have been along to break the ice with preliminary inquiries and handshakes, and talked of plans that would clearly please their guests. Nevertheless, some of the children have been insistent, and internally gnawed with fearful misgivings; since for most it will be at first a leap in the dark and rather an ordeal, what follows may be taken as an embarrassed round-robin.

The important aim should be to dispel shyness and put them at ease in a strange home. (One of the incidental benefits will be a different angle on English homes, towns, and modes of living). Don't fuss over them; don't cram them with excursions and food and different people to meet day after day. If there quiet and slack times, so much to the good. Just then they can be playing games, with other children if possible; you have succeeded if they laugh and chatter in Spanish. Let them feel that they are one of the party and not a guest of honour, that they have slipped unseen into a family reunion. Language should rarely be a hurdle; they understand much more, when it is clearly, simply and slowly spoken, than they have the courage to utter themselves. Woolworth's sell a passable dictionary; often a word of Latin origin is more readily understood than one of Saxon origin.

Ice the cake of your year's stalwart and heartfelt support by not treating them as virtue's prize, as trophies to be exhibited to admiring friends. Receive as one of your own these sensitive little creatures.

Pause for thought: why was all this written? Even the shade under the Oak Tree has not shielded me from the rays of the sun.

Note.—Please send me any impressions and anecdotes, that the week may be fully garnered in.

All the Way With the Manifesto Coach

PEOPLE EAGER TO HEAR THE PACIFIST MESSAGE

The following account of the journey of the Manifesto coach, from Carlisle to London, is by G. D. Piper, a member of its "crew" of campaigners.

WE arrived at Carlisle from London when the meeting in the Square had just begun. Under the Cross in the centre was a blue banner with the silver lettering "Peace-Makers' Pilgrimage: Carlisle to London." A fine crowd listened first to Andrew Stewart, Mrs. Sybil White, and Canon Stuart Morris. The collection amounted to 17s. and about six dozen PEACE NEWS were sold. People were sympathetic and the body of the crowd stayed the whole 1½ hours.

Carlisle should feel the effect of the meeting, for local members put a lot of energy into organizing the meeting, producing posters, parading—for the first time in Carlisle, which caused great excitement—and so on. It was a fine start to the campaign, and was reported in both local weeklies.

Next morning the coach was decorated with posters, the banner, "War—We Say No," slung across the back, and we left Carlisle at 9.45 for Penrith. Here we poster paraded through the town, distributed Manifestos, and sold two dozen PEACE NEWS. There were plenty of people about, and others came to their doors. All were interested.

WORKMEN INTERESTED

Then on to Shap, where we poster paraded through the village. As few people were to be seen no meeting was held, but we journeyed a little further down the road to the Shap granite works, where workmen were eating their lunch.

Here, Stuart Morris, Margaret Pope, and Andrew Stewart "covered" about 125 men in three meetings in different parts of the works. Several PEACE NEWS were sold and the men gladly accepted copies of the Manifesto, though they were slow to ask questions. It seems that they are not allowed to belong to a trade union.

I think they were, on the whole, rather surprised to find we wanted to talk to them, for the district is sparsely populated, and traffic from Penrith to Kendal does not often stop at the works.

We had an interesting time in Kendal, a Quaker stronghold. The streets are excellent for a long poster parade, and we covered the whole town.

The eagerness with which our leaflets were asked for by the public and the interest displayed by the shopkeepers and others was tremendously encouraging.

The general feeling was that the parade would do a great deal of good, and we were wished all success for the campaign.

On we went, via Lancaster, Blackburn, and Burnley, to Nelson, where we dropped Kenneth Lee, Mrs. White, and L. J. Cole, who were addressing a meeting there; thence to Platt Fields, Manchester, where Stuart Morris, Margaret Pope, and Andrew Stewart addressed what was a fine crowd for a chilly Wednesday evening. Manchester must have put their backs into it!

(It was afterward reported that the Nelson meeting was also well attended. A resolution, passed without dissent, called upon the local MP to press for the provisions of the Van Zeeland Report to be implemented and for the calling of a world economic conference.)

We left Manchester on Thursday morning and went via Cheadle to Wilmslow, where we poster paraded.

PEACE NEWS was selling extraordinarily well. We used a bell at the head of the parade which brought inhabitants and shopkeepers to their doors—ready to be tackled by the sellers who followed the procession.

Then on to Macclesfield, where an excellent poster parade preceded the meeting in Park Green, which had been well organized by the local group.

"COULD DO WITH MORE"

A decorated coal cart awaited us, and a small but appreciative crowd stopped to listen during the lunch hour.

We heard that the secretary of the silk-workers' union commented: "We could do with more of this kind of meeting here," and were perfectly certain that Macclesfield group wouldn't let him down!

Here and in Congleton interviews were given to the press, and reporters had been at Carlisle and Manchester, while we just

missed a press photographer at Hanley.

From Macclesfield we went to Leek, but as it was early closing day, and consequently very quiet, we continued to Congleton, where a poster parade was received in such a friendly manner that we decided to hold a half-hour meeting. Although it was a small crowd, the meeting was worth while.

We continued on our way and five miles out of Hanley the Stoke-on-Trent group met us with four decorated cars which preceded us into the town, where we had a meeting. We were then split into two parties, one going to a meeting at Hanley and one to Burslem. Reports of both meetings were sent to the local newspaper.

Not only were the meetings well organized, but our personal comfort was well cared for. Everything went smoothly—well done, Stoke!

The number of recruiting posters in the Potteries was less than we had seen on the way from Carlisle. The reason is that the Potteries are not nearly so "distressed" as, for example, Lancashire.

We left Stoke-on-Trent on Friday morning for Stafford, where a fine parade through the town culminated in an open-air meeting in Gaol Square. Then on to Wolverhampton, where two parades were held. No meeting was held as the only available space, the Market Square, was unfortunately occupied only by the remnants of the stalls which had been used for the market.

EIGHT MEETINGS SIMULTANEOUSLY

We continued on to West Bromwich, where we were met by Rhoda Smith and members of the Birmingham groups. After an excellent tea, at a member's house, we were soon allotted to our hosts and hostesses and to our various speaking pitches for the evening; thence to the Bull Ring, near the Market Hall, where the chief meeting was held and where we split up to go to the surrounding parks.

Seven meetings were arranged—in Handsworth, Calthorpe, Lightwoods, Ward End, Small Heath, Pye Hayes, and Perry Parks—in addition to the main meeting at the Bull Ring.

All the meetings were well attended and considerable crowds, especially at the Bull Ring, gathered to hear the campaigners.

Sales of PEACE NEWS were quite good and distribution of Manifestos went on apace, although in some of the parks the circulation of literature was restricted by regulations in force there.

From Birmingham we went, on Saturday, to Stratford-on-Avon.

A short meeting was held here after a poster parade, which had aroused tremendous interest; but probably the greatest benefit came from our contacts with Canadians and Americans who were visiting the birthplace of Shakespeare and the Memorial Theatre.

One parson there regretted that we had to go on almost at once, for he would have liked one of us to have preached in his church on Sunday.

Then on to Banbury. Here we discovered that a hospital procession and fete was being held in the afternoon, and the local group leader entered the coach in the procession.

Headed by the banner used by the No More War Movement in the Carlisle-to-London campaign after the War, and followed by poster paraders, the coach joined in the procession, which wound its way round the whole town and was seen to great advantage by very extensive crowds. Six of the crew had collecting boxes and threw themselves wholeheartedly into the job of collecting coppers for Horton Hospital.

Having surrendered our well-weighted boxes, we continued on the campaign to Oxford. As the procession at Banbury had taken so long, operations there were restricted to a half-hour poster parade round the town.

Then on to Aylesbury, where we were met by the smiling face of John Barclay. As no group exists there, members of the Watford group had generously come to the town and had paraded, advertising the meeting in the Market Square.

With John Barclay in the chair, and supported by Richard Bishop, chairman of the Welsh Council, the crew was able to hold a large crowd, despite some good-natured heckling from bystanders and young cadets from the RAF depot at Wendover. After the meeting had concluded at 9.30, and as soon as the small groups which had formed and were arguing among themselves had broken up, the coach went on to Watford, where hospitality had been arranged for the night by the local groups.

Sunday morning was spent in re-decorating and in cleaning the coach, and at 12.45 we set off for the Tower Garage where we joined up with the other cars waiting there for the procession to Hyde Park.

(Description of the procession, page 9; Hyde Park demonstration, page one.)

NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

HOME COUNTIES

Barnet

MEMBERS of the Barnet group paraded outside the hall where Lord Strathcona, Under-Secretary for War, opened a new Territorial Army headquarters for the district recently.

Not only were they able to make their presence felt through the distribution of literature, but Lord Strathcona himself went to the trouble of rebuking them when he made his speech at the ceremony.

MIDLANDS

Birmingham

An open-air meeting was held by Sparkhill Group in Sparkhill Park on Sunday evening of last week. There was an excellent gathering of between 300 and 400 people. The pacifist case was put in a vital and energetic manner by Wilfred Wellock and the Rev. P. L. D. Chatterton. The subject was dealt with from a variety of angles by these two able speakers.

Several new signatures to the pledge were received, and there was a good collection.

NORTH

Ryton and District

At a recent open-air meeting there were 150 serious listeners who stood throughout the meeting. During the winter it is hoped to organize a meeting to be addressed by a national speaker.

The first step toward organizing this group were taken as recently as December last.

NORTH-WEST

Prestwich

An open-air meeting—the first of its kind to be held in Heaton Park for many years—was a real success. Addressed by L. Cowan, the Fallowfield group leader, and A. T. Stone, the Sale group leader, it attracted about 120 people, the majority of whom stayed throughout the meeting despite the unfavourable weather.

An invitation was extended to the audience to attend local group meetings.

WALES

Rhos

Over 800 people attended a recent meeting which had been preceded by a poster parade. Lady Artemus Jones presided and in her opening remarks she emphasized the natural bent of the Welsh people for peace.

Dr. Salter said they had to get down to root causes to stop war. No dictator would go to war unless his nation was solemnly behind him, and 95 percent of the German people were behind Hitler because the people felt there was no alternative.

Unless there was a change in economic relationships, he added, there was nothing before them but extinction.

Canon Stuart Morris, who approached the subject from the Christian point of view, said he was certain not only that the churches could stop war, but they should; if the churches did not stop war, then war would stop the churches.

Three hundred copies of PEACE NEWS were sold at the meeting and many pledge cards were signed.

UP THE GARDEN PATH

By
BESOM

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN has for many years been connected with a Birmingham bunk manufacturing company of which, until 1936, he was a director. Peter Howard, of the *Sunday Express*, who gives us this information, adds that "of late, the bunk business has been declining."

In view of ARP, "arms for defence," and "prosperity" with rising unemployment, I should have thought that the bunk business was enjoying the greatest boom in its history. Mr. Howard, however, should know best; as political correspondent of a paper from the Beaverbrook stable he's in the business all right.

STRANGER THAN FICTION

This is getting past a joke, and it annoys the Editor. Every time he thinks of anything so outrageously absurd as to be impossible—the outrageously absurd impossibility either happens or is put forward as a serious suggestion.

Last week this paper had a cartoon showing two airmen. One was saying: "... After all, this order to bomb women and children—it's much the best way to avoid leaving widows and orphans."

While that very issue was on the presses this appeared in a letter to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*:

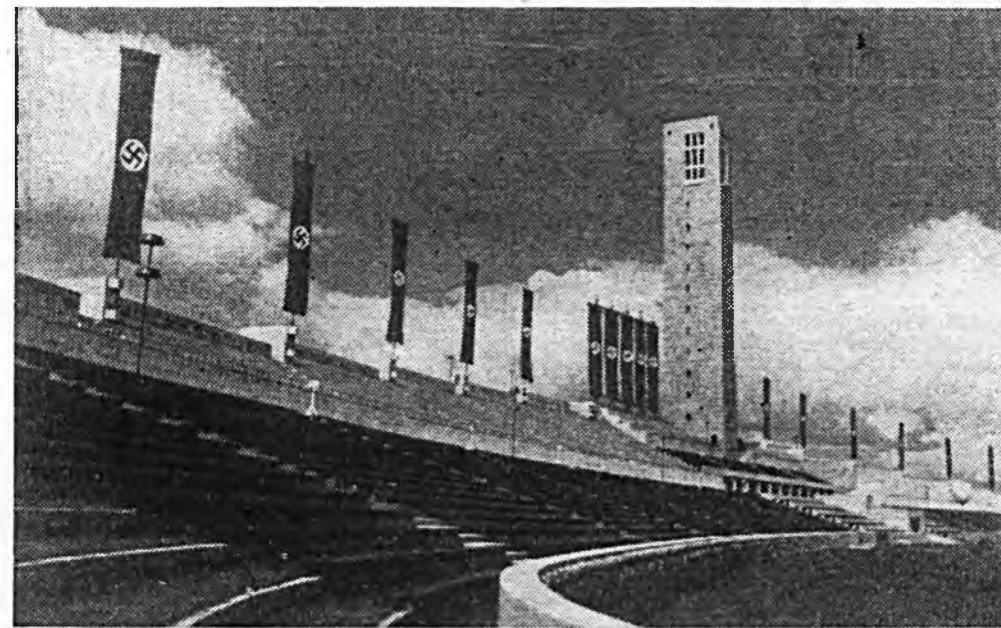
Lieut.-Colonel Osburn has misread my letter. I tried to say that ground military operations make widows and orphans on both sides and that air blockade is far more humane.

The writer was Air-Commodore J. A. Chamier, Secretary-General of the Air League of the British Empire, and he was writing about the North-West Frontier of India.

(H)ARP?

Cheer up!
You have two chances:
You may get a mask—
Or you may not.
And if you get a mask
You have two chances:
You may get the gas—
Or you may not.
And if you get the gas
You have two chances:
You may die—
Or you may not.
And, if you die—
Well, you still have two chances!

SENT BY A READER



This photograph of the Olympic Stadium in Berlin was taken by a Kentish reader, Mr. M. E. G. Goodman.

Letter from the Editor

17 Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

I THINK it is always interesting to learn of the very different paths followed in the past by one's fellow pacifists.

GEORGE M. LL. DAVIES, author of our leader-page article this week, who has had the distinction of being elected to Parliament as a Christian pacifist (for the Welsh Universities, in 1923), is President of the Peace Pledge Union in Wales.

He has had a particularly varied experience. In the letter enclosing his article he wrote:

I have explored so many blind alleys—political partisanship, Territorial Army officership, mass meetings, membership of Parliament—in my quest for the way of peace, before I have become convinced that the haven of personal witness is more important than the levers of power.

I am sure that after all the high ideals and hot air of the last twenty years, people long to experience, even on a small scale, a bit of real peace in the freedom of friendship—the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things unseen.

Actually, MR. DAVIES was also a bank manager, then secretary of the Welsh Housing Trust. He gave up a business career to become a servant of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. As you will gather from his article, he was imprisoned during the War—"for preaching Christianity," as it is put in *Who's Who*.

A Prominent Welshman

MOST Welsh members of the PPU will also have heard already of the Rev. R. J. JONES, who has written the article for Welsh readers on page 9, for he is vice-chairman of the new PPU committee for Wales.

MR. JONES, who lives in Cardiff, is prominent in religious as well as pacifist circles in Wales.

Frank Hancock in South Wales

AS I mentioned some time ago, FRANK HANCOCK's adoption as prospective Labour candidate for the Monmouth division made it necessary for him to move from Lewes, Sussex.

His new address is: "Graig View," Cwmty, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire.

In his letter telling me of the change FRANK HANCOCK added: "We shall get to work quickly in our new district and hope for good results."

An Anonymous Giver

IN the June 21 issue of PEACE NEWS JOHN BARCLAY appealed for funds for the Peace Pledge Union, "before it is too late." Among the responses to that appeal

Twenty-one Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*,

August 3, 1917.

... After the meeting the story was told us. Mother and sister bore me no malice for speaking out plainly that war was wrong and of the kingdom of darkness.

"My brother—well, I hoped he would never come back to us. Now we hear he is dead. He did not want to come back. He said to us, 'I hope I never come back.'" And the reason?

He confessed it to ease his poor tortured soul.

"You see, I was on burying duty—burying Germans, and suddenly a 'dead officer' lifted up his head. 'Me not dead.' 'Oh, no,' I said, 'it's no use you lifting up your head. The hole is made, and in you go!'"

That was all the story. To have buried a half-dead man was driving one of our British lads to torturing madness. We send them out to "finish"—we even send them out to "begin the killing"—under the blessing of the Church and, as Ernest Crosby would say, "No-one laughs—but the Devil."

was a letter from somebody who wished to remain anonymous.

He (or she) enclosed £100 which, said the letter, "represents the sacrifice of something I want very much."

Now then you who believe in the power of example, what about it?

Where Politeness Pays

MURIEL LESTER's account of the horrors now being perpetrated in China—and her message concerning them to people in this country, quoted in Points for the Platform this week—reminded me of a letter she wrote to Mr. Gandhi's weekly, *Harijan*, some weeks ago.

In her letter she said that she had heard a Chinese quarrel described like this:

The protagonists would rage at each other before an interested audience who carefully noted the accusation, recriminations, and defenses. This duet might go on for a long time.

But if one of them lost his temper and struck out at the other, he was proven to be in the wrong. His recourse to violence signified that he had run out of ideas.

Permanent Publicity

IT'S an ill wind that blows nobody any good. MR. STANSBY, proprietor of the Elysian Cinema, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire, bought some land, having in mind the erection of a new cinema. The project, however, fell through.

But MR. STANSBY is also a PPU member and he has allowed the local PPU group to erect a permanent notice board without any charge whatever. The board takes posters 60" x 30", and William J. Lyon, the group leader, would be grateful if any PPU poster-writers who can do posters of that size would volunteer their services. Mr. Lyon's address is 6 Church Road, Gatley, Cheadle, Cheshire.

I wonder, by the way, whether the word "War" is a good one to attract attention, or not. In a picture of the notice board a poster reads "WAR comes—not because men want war, but because they pursue policies which make war inevitable." And until you get fairly near the only word you can read is "WAR."

Shortening Our Service

THE Rev. Donald A. Foster, of St. Stephen's, Bradford, has just told his parishioners exactly where he stands on the vital issue of peace and war.

In his parish magazine he writes vigorously in defence of the pacifist position. Turning to ARP, he admits that it is a difficult subject, but says "If we spend time and energy on ARP we divert our attention from the task in hand—the service of Christ."

It is good to see a minister taking this stand... but, by the very same post in which Mr. Foster sent me his parish magazine, came a letter telling me that a poster recently displayed in Colchester read:

ST. PETER'S CHURCH

After a shortened form of Divine Service the local ARP Officer, Col. Crossman, will speak on "The necessity for Air Raid Precautions."

- A FABLE -

by
Joseph
E.
Southall



THERE was once a missionary who felt called to go to the Island of Kettelon in the Anti-Pacific Ocean to preach to the natives against the sin of cannibalism. By mistake he sailed on a ship bound for another island, named Potnia.

As the ship drew near the land the missionary was surprised to see large notices displayed on the rocks, on trees, on buildings and other prominent places, and one may imagine his joy on reading these notices, which all said, "Down with cannibalism."

The chief man among the natives welcomed the missionary as he landed, and the missionary expressed to him his gratification at reading the proclamations. "Yes," replied the chief. "For many years it has been the one desire of our people to destroy for ever this inhuman practice."

The next day a great feast was made in honour of the missionary, and all the leading men and priests of the island came to it. Now the missionary had (as usually happens with good men) an excellent appetite, but there was something about the odour of the soup that took his appetite away. The host was concerned at this, but his guest made light of it.

The next dish was roast meat, but when the cover was removed the missionary saw the unmistakable shape of a human limb. At this sight he almost fainted, but as soon as he recovered he demanded an explanation.

"Oh," said the chief, in great surprise, "do you not understand that the practice of

eating human flesh cannot be overcome by pious resolutions? Cannibalism must be met with cannibalism, only thus can it be crushed; and besides, if we did not eat the odious natives of Kettelon they would inevitably eat us. To make sure of success we have even adopted Kettelonian methods of cooking."

The missionary then turned to the chief priest. "Surely," he said, "you do not approve of this revolting custom?"

"Reverend sir," replied the priest, "it is a regrettable necessity. In our religion the end justifies the means, and the end being the destruction of Kettelonian cannibalism, which end you yourself desire; it would be cowardly and even impious to oppose the only means by which that glorious result can be achieved. Moreover, since national unity is essential to success, every teacher in the island is

obliged by law to teach this same duty; and, further, if any native holds a contrary view, and thus weakens the pious national resolve, he is immediately punished with this formidable club. Do not you, sir, agree with our decision?"

"I do, indeed," replied the missionary, hastily, "your arguments are irresistible."

On his return home the missionary met a friend who had visited Kettelon. "How do the people there regard cannibalism?" he inquired.

"They abhor the practice," said his friend, "and only continue it because there is no other method by which Potnian cannibalism can be crushed."

This story is obtainable in leaflet form from the Northern Friends Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, Nr. Leeds, and the Friends Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. Price 2d. per copy, 3s. 6d. per 100.

A Member Writes—

"Peace News" in Public Libraries Can Help the P.P.U.

THE PPU has done a tremendous amount of publicity work, but every day I am surprised to find the large number of people who have never heard of the Union.

I think the best way to remedy this omission is through PEACE NEWS. If the paper could be introduced more readers, then I am certain the membership of the PPU would go up by leaps and bounds. But how to do this? The libraries seem to hold the solution to the problem. If every public library in the country showed a copy of PEACE NEWS, then many of our worries would vanish.

Personally, I have found it extremely difficult to persuade librarians to put PEACE NEWS on their shelves, mainly owing to the extra cost of a new paper. On the other hand, I find that these same librarians are willing to display the paper if it is donated.

I see no reason why the members of the PPU could not form a fund which would do this work. Every member could do his or her share by persuading the local librarian to accept a copy of PEACE NEWS as a donation from the Union (through the fund), if he refuses to display the paper at the expense of the library.

ARTHUR FREEMAN.

* Although PEACE NEWS is now in 353 public libraries, there must still be many where it is not displayed. The latest addition to the list is Fenham Branch Library, which opened recently in Newcastle.—Ed.

The Next

London Group Leaders' Meeting

will be held the
First Tuesday in September

The Notice Board

Meetings

Slough group hiking to Burnham Beeches, August Bank Holiday, and would be delighted to welcome other members for lunch from "kit-bag" by Wingroves Swimming Pool, 12.30 p.m., or tea at Macro's Pavilion, 5.15 p.m.; but such members must support open-air meeting by Water Fountain at 6.15 p.m. Hike, bike, motor, or fly, and wear a white flower so that you may be "spotted."

Groups are invited to send names and addresses of people (pacifists or others) within easy reach of the City, who might be persuaded to attend a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence on October 25, to City PPU Group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. T. Kaye Earnshaw, 29 Whittaker Avenue, Layton, Blackpool, would be pleased to hear from pacifists (speakers particularly) visiting Blackpool, who would like to assist at open-air meetings on the sands.

Romford group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

West Norwood group will not meet in St. Luke's Church Hall, which is undergoing redecoration, until September 13 when Mr. Sydney Lacombe will speak on the W.R.I.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in Kings Square, Barry. Also in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff at 8 p.m. on Sundays.

Open-air meetings are now held on Tooting Bec Common every Sunday at 7 p.m., as well as on Clapham Common (3 p.m.) and Streatham Common (6.30 p.m.). Arranged between Streatham, Battersea and Wandsworth groups.

PPU open-air meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. on Whitfields Mount, Blackheath, near Cricket Pitch.

PEACE NEWS Sellers Wanted

City, W.1, W.C.1 and N.W.1 groups are combining to draw up rota for theatre and opera-house queues. Volunteers for any day of week. Apply City PPU Headquarters, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

Letchworth.—Volunteers for street selling wanted on Saturdays between 3 and 5 p.m. and 5 and 7 p.m. Also on Sundays outside churches. Please give details and times to J. Yardley 49 William Way, Letchworth.

Bristol.—Every Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

Blackheath.—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

Harborne.—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46, Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

Tunbridge Wells.—Write to Maurice Cransby 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

Nottingham.—Fridays and Mondays. Meet Friar Lane, 7 p.m. Do not leave it to a few.

Hull.—Open-air meetings every Wednesday 8 p.m. at West Park Gates.

Group Notes

The Campaign and After

By JOHN BARCLAY

I DO not want to say anything about the Manifesto campaign this week as full reports appear elsewhere in the paper. The success of the whole campaign was made possible by the untiring devotion of hundreds of members.

Every member of the coach "crew" under Canon Morris enjoyed the very strenuous work involved on the journey, and the procession and demonstration in Hyde Park went without a hitch under the guiding hands of twelve marshals. The courtesy shown by the police, and especially

ally their cooperation in the matter of working the traffic lights along the whole route from Finchley Road to Marble Arch, helped to ensure its complete success.

I have already begun to plan a much bigger demonstration which I know will receive the support of all those who took part in last week's campaign, and, I hope, the active participation of members all over the country. But more of this anon!

Meanwhile there is a great "follow up" to be undertaken. Our real work is just beginning, and if we are to see progress made we shall have to call for more money and more sacrifice of time. The challenge we are making is a directly personal one; a call to every man and woman not only to renounce war but to throw his or her whole weight on the side of constructive peace-making.

Everyone who can make his or her voice heard should now come out into the open and declare himself as completely opposed to war. I want to appeal to everyone who reads this to consider three things at once:

1. If you have not already joined, join the PPU;
2. Join the nearest group if you do not already belong to one;
3. Send me the name of one person who you consider is on the "border line," and to whom a letter of invitation could be sent together with a copy of any particular leaflet.

There are thousands of people who have only to be contacted, who have already made up their minds about the whole question of war and peace and who would gladly join us if they knew our address.

The national press is constantly telling us that we are not being boycotted, but the fact remains that only three national papers reported us on Monday, and one of these did not mention us by name. On the other hand, the BBC gave a very fair report in the news bulletin on Sunday night and thereby informed millions all over the country of our existence. Eight hundred and fifty groups will soon be 1,000 and the second 100,000 members are on their way. Peace will only come when men refuse to fight.

Poster Parades

Morecambe.—Public meeting, August 7. Visiting members welcomed in parade. Write F. Hellowell, Hatlex Drive, Hest Bank, Leicester. More volunteers needed every Saturday at 6.45 p.m. from 96 Regent Street, and on the second and fourth Thursdays of every month at 7.15 p.m.

There will be no parade from 96, Regent Street tonight (Saturday).

Miscellaneous

Tidworth Tattoo.—Volunteers wanted for leaflet distribution every day of the tattoo (July 30 and August 1 to 6), from 7 p.m. to 8.30 p.m. Groups near Tidworth are asked to send a carload at least one evening and notify S. E. Hales, The Drive, Weyhill Road, Andover, of the date and time of arrival. Meet at temporary footbridge over main road at entrance to tattoo grounds.

Those visiting Ayrshire district please inform Miss Jean Brock, 54, Barassie Street, Troon (tel. 634), or Mrs. Sybil White, 71 London Road, Kilmarnock.

Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quirel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to hear from pacifists in, and to visit Newquay and district during the summer months, more especially those willing to take part in meetings and demonstrations.

There is now a service for the supply of literature at 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. Orders received by noon on any day can be ready for collection at the above address after noon on the day following. The object is to save postage for people who cannot collect their supplies from Regent Street, but can do so from here.

Sheringham group hopes to start a Book Shop and Social Service Centre in the near future. Would anyone with a tiny income, willing to live on communal lines, like to join in this venture? Write to Miss Florence Kearney Lavenham, North Street, Sheringham.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

"Things we want you to know"

JULY 30th, 1938

POSTERS

TWO SELECTIONS FOR USE IN THE ORDER SHOWN ON POSTER PARADES

- | | | |
|---|---|--------|
| 1 | War's New Target - | No. 22 |
| 2 | Mass Murder is no defence of Liberty | 13 |
| 3 | Don't be misled by the word "DEFENCE" | 6 |
| 4 | The Bomber will always get through—Are Bombers defensive weapons? | 2 |
| 5 | You can't get Peace by preparing for WAR | 7 |
| 6 | Pacifism, the practical alternative to WAR | 8 |
| 7 | Join the Peace Pledge Union | 19 |

Ask for
POSTER GROUP
NO. 1

Post Free
1/4

BROOCH
BADGE



OLIVE
GREEN &
GILT
6d.

MIGHTIER THAN
THE SWORD



No. 33 Very attractive in 3 colours 20" x 30"
3d. each

BUTTON
BADGE



OLIVE
GREEN &
GILT
6d.

- | | | |
|---|---|--------|
| 1 | Armaments are preventing the outbreak of Peace | No. 28 |
| 2 | Armaments get nobody anywhere and everybody nowhere | 23 |
| 3 | You can't preserve Peace by preparing for War | 17 |
| 4 | War must be renounced as well as denounced | 29 |
| 5 | 1,000,000 and now their sons. We say NO | 21 |
| 6 | Mightier than the Sword | 33 |
| 7 | Dick Sheppard's work goes on | 26 |
| 8 | Pacifism, an Ideal and a Method | 15 |
| 9 | Mobilize for Peace with the Peace Pledge Union | 27 |

Post Free
POSTER GROUP NO. 2 2/1

WE SHALL SHORTLY PUBLISH:
"The Christian Attitude to War"

By Canon H. R. L. Sheppard
Should be read by EVERYBODY
Sincere CHRISTIAN or OTHERWISE
at St. Mary Woolnoth
February 26th, 1937
1/- 100
10/- 1000
(Postage extra)

USE THESE
PEACE ON ALL LETTERS
6d. per 100



FULL POSTER LISTS

And LITERATURE LISTS

Sent Free on receipt of
1d. stamp for postage

Dear Sir . . .

Christianity, Humanism, and the Peace Pledge Union

MAY I comment on the recent correspondence regarding Christianity and humanism in relation to the PPU?

I believe that the very broad appeal of pacifism lies in this—that it goes beyond differing motives and provides a focal point for them in a unified policy (particularly in its negative aspect of opposition to all war). If the peace movement is to break up into sects according to the various motives which lead to pacifism (so brilliantly analysed for us by Dr. Belden), it seems doomed to impotence. In any case, do most of us feel these motives in isolation? For my part I am conscious of many.

I believe Messrs. Kirk and Whittingham (PEACE NEWS, July 16) are right in maintaining that the ultimate basis for the positive side of pacifism is universal acceptance of Christian salvation. But this is a personal belief, and the immediate problem is (to quote Mr. Max Plowman) "the imminence of war, not the psychology of pacifists." The PPU has produced a policy which satisfies many motives—or if you like, reduces them to the highest common factor of life and death. Its justification is the same as that which theoretically justifies the State—the provision of order and security in which men may live and develop. Unfortunately, States tend increasingly to depart from their social purpose and, so far from preventing life from becoming nasty, brutish, and short make this condition of things unpleasantly probable.

The PPU policy is the logical answer. And in so far as all are agreed on that policy, its Sponsors are no more concerned with the members' motives than is the driver of a train with the reasons which induce his passengers to travel.

The extreme Christian pacifists believe that unless all have their motives, the "pacifist train" will be derailed. This risk seems to me worth taking, for whether we are actuated by the highest Christian motives or merely regard it as "good business," we all have at least this much in common, that we see war for the insane folly that it is. With all its faults, we would rather see civilization intact than destroyed; we would rather be alive than dead.

ROYSTON E. MOODY.

60, Woodland Gardens,
Muswell Hill, N.10.

In two recent issues of PEACE NEWS it has been claimed that the Peace Pledge Union had a religious foundation. I should like to make it clear that my father intended this movement to be founded solely on the spirit of the pledge as it now stands, irrespective of any religious or political opinion. To him this was the most essential and distinctive characteristic of the Union.

MARGARET SHEPPARD.

I would briefly reply to some of my critics. Lord Ponsonby denies having attacked Christianity; his own words may answer this:

"I am firmly convinced," he writes (PEACE NEWS, July 9), "that all supernatural doctrines and beliefs, so far from helping (the spiritual nature of man) are definitely inimical to its development; they afford easy subtleties and soothing consolations for people who wish to avoid grappling with the reality of life."

In truth it is the humanist who turns from reality, because the motive he presents as adequate to human inspiration is necessarily wanting in authority and depth, since it is based upon the limited understanding of man himself.

The Christian believes in the authority of God as revealed and embodied in Christ, though the immanence of God in humanity is, as Mr. Neil Mackenzie (July 23) rightly affirms, a Christian truth. By insisting on the antithesis between God and man as the ultimate authority in the universe, I merely set forth the obvious distinction between Christianity and the various humanistic philosophies.

Mr. Dyer (July 24) is unfair in his statement that I would exclude non-Christians from the pacifist movement; what I claim is that the difference of outlook on reality between those who affirm and those who doubt or deny God is so great that only superficial unity on pacifism or any other moral issue is possible. Mr. Dyer's jibe about Pharisees is one more proof of this.

WILLIAM E. KIRK.

"Tintern,"
27, Greenhill Avenue,
Giffnock, Glasgow.

"Normality"

Blanche A. Watson asks: "What is 'A.C.G.'s idea of normality?" That question is irrelevant. The relevant question is: "What is Tom, Dick, and Harry's idea of normality?" the answer to which is certainly not pacifism, anarchism, vegetarianism, &c.

If we believe in these "isms," it is our duty to persuade Tom, Dick, and Harry to accept them as normal: but we are making our task much more difficult if we tackle more than one "ism" at a time, for we thereby make the recipient's meal highly indigestible.

In my opinion, pacifism is so much more important than any of the other beliefs which I mentioned (without implying any criticisms of those beliefs), that it must be our first duty to persuade Tom, Dick, and Harry of its normality. When that aim is achieved, we "cranks" can turn our attention to the lesser "isms." In the meantime, any open connexion between pacifism and the latter will damage both in attaining general acceptance.

Peterborough.

Meum or Tuum?

I agree with Mr. Plowman that "God is love." I also certainly accept that God mediates that love through man to his neighbour. Yet at the same time God retains his own distinctive, objective being. I cannot quite understand Mr. Plowman, however, when he says, "I am not terribly concerned with being right. I didn't become a pacifist in order to be right. Right or wrong, I wanted to be human, if possible."

Surely one is a pacifist because it is right. Can we have any hope of its consummation if there is doubt in our minds as to its being right? Mr. Middleton (PEACE NEWS, July 16) is mistaken in saying I used the word "bunk" in relation to the beliefs of Mr. Beresford and Mr. Plowman. It is not my desire to be cynical or disrespectful.

The problem I have tried to set forth is in existence in the PPU. There are those of our membership who honestly believe that pacifism can be achieved by reason; there are others who believe it can only be achieved by faith in God. To me, pacifism is an integral part of Christianity. I am a pacifist because I am a confessed Christian. If I were not a Christian I doubt very much whether I would be a pacifist. The question arises, therefore, for me: How far can I go, how far to cooperate, with those who are not prepared to accept God as revealed in Christ as their unquestionable moral authority?

E. FOSTER.

38 Melrose Avenue, Rutherglen, Glasgow.

REFUGEE YOU CAN HELP

At the time when Hitler marched into Vienna we were horrified; we stood aghast at the thing fascism on the march. Since then we have been shocked at the stories of Vienna as it is today; we are rightly or wrongly indignant and feel helpless in such a ghastly situation. It seems there is nothing the pacifist can do but to go on proclaiming his message to the world with a hope that some day the world will learn the way.

We have living in our home an Austrian refugee who knows the horrors of Vienna today; his friends have written begging him for help. One has lost his father (suicide because he and his wife had to decide to part so that she could get a job), another is unable to stay with his mother in Hungary and on his return to Vienna he is faced with starvation or suicide as his father is a Jew. After trying other sources for help he begs us to try and help him to get to this country.

Are there any readers of PEACE NEWS who want to help in this situation, and be constructive, not merely to give relief but to show a young life the only way to world peace? These young Austrians have never heard of refusing to fight and cannot at first grasp the idea of pacifism, but slowly the truth comes to them. Please, if any can help, do get into touch with us and we will give further information.

P.

Leeds.

* Letters for forwarding to this correspondent may be sent c/o The Editor, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

EFFECTIVE ACTION

It should make all lovers of peace indignant not with the Government only for lending Turkey £6,000,000 to purchase arms for the destruction of human life; what is most amazing was that it passed not only without a division, but also without effective protest.

Where were the reputed pacifist members? Were they absent from the most effective field of action, or was it that they lacked the courage to protest and divide the House? It doesn't matter how few they may be. The people of this country are looking for bold action in this sphere, and are being deceived and disappointed.

Surely the House of Commons is by far the supreme place for effective peace propaganda. I believe the signs are beyond doubt clearly established that it is absolutely essential that we should see to it that we have peace candidates and peace members independent of all party ties.

JOHN BRAIN.

Malvern House,
Malvern Road, Cheltenham.

Another Peace Ballot Suggested

SINCE reading the leading article in PEACE NEWS of June 25 on the evident determination of the Government to ignore M. van Zeeland's report, as made manifest in the recent debate on that subject, I have been wondering whether there is nothing which members of the PPU can do to organize public opinion and force the Government to abandon its policy of economic nationalism.

Would it not be possible for the PPU to organize a nation-wide petition (on the same lines as the Peace Ballot of the LNU)? I would suggest that the local groups be asked to deliver at every house in their district a form containing a few simple questions, which forms should, on completion, be collected and sorted according to the answers received, and forwarded to Head Office.

The question might be something of this kind:—

1. Are you in favour of a policy of appeasement, along the lines of the Van Zeeland Report, or of rearmament?
2. Are you in favour of the granting of colonies under Mandate to those countries which need territory for expansion?
3. Do you believe that war can secure peace, justice, or freedom?

If anything is to be done it must be done at once or the opportunity will pass.

W. B. WORDSWORTH.

Whitebridge Hotel, Stratherrick, Inverness.

"THE WAR RESISTER"

The summer number of *The War Resister* has just been published and I would like to draw the attention of your readers to the amazingly interesting contents of this issue. Perhaps in no other way can members of the Peace Pledge Union obtain so clear a view of what the practice of their faith involves in other countries.

Copies of *The War Resister* may be obtained from the PPU office, but I would like to urge your readers to supplement such information as they can obtain from PEACE NEWS week by week by becoming regular subscribers to *The War Resister*. It is published quarterly for an annual subscription of 1s. 2d. from 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

STUART D. MORRIS.

Chairman, Peace Pledge Union.

96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

FAITH

May I venture a comment on Mr. Cecil W. Davies's article in your issue of July 2, on "Pacifism and the Class War"? To me it seems to express a regrettably class-conscious and material spirit for pacifism, as too partly a bias. He would admit, surely, that there are sincere men and women in all parties.

I suggest that true pacifism is essentially impersonal and (to use Aldous Huxley's term) non-attached—it has the "heart at leisure from itself." And it is based on a belief in something much more potent than the individual and more practically helpful than £. s. d. Probably that faith can be most briefly, as most comprehensively, stated in the phrase "Right makes might," and as applying not only to the nation but to the individual, not only in controversy but as a constant means of support.

There is a Bible story in which advice was given to a young man to sell all he had and give to the poor. That was not because he had great possessions but because his faith had become so grounded in those material things that he was unable to trust himself to a purely spiritual agency. It is harder for a rich man to place dependence on an invisible and intangible source of supply.

The crying need of a world driving to self-destruction through fear is faith—not this orthodoxy or that creed, but the firm conviction of the existence of an omnipotent force for good, whatever name we each prefer for that force, which maintains in material necessities as in moral strength those who work for that good.

But faith is essential—and the only essential.

G.D.

London, W.

SPIRITUALIST PACIFISTS

Some time ago I appealed through the columns of PEACE NEWS to pacifists who were also fellow spiritualists to cooperate in publishing a special pacifist leaflet suitable for the spiritualist movement.

Eighty spiritualists, mostly members of the PPU, helped in distributing thousands of leaflets throughout the British Isles. I now desire their cooperation again in producing a second leaflet based on Lyceum and spirit teachings. I am also recording the names of spiritualist pacifists, with other data offered.

Contributions toward the publication of this leaflet will be welcome. James Le Nourg (PPU, Sheffield), Editor of *Lyceum Leader*, has been approached to compile the second leaflet as soon as funds permit.

RALPH WALTON.

Hon. Organizer, Spiritualist Pacifists.
67 Farleigh Road, London, N.16.

Self-Gratification?

I WANT to protest as strongly as I possibly can against the publicity tactics of certain PPU members.

It is my considered opinion that an immense amount of harm is being done by irresponsible neurotics who are using the movement as a drug to deaden their own anxiety. We're all neurotics in a sense—we must be if we're going to get anywhere—but we mustn't sacrifice our only hope of peace to resolve our personal conflicts.

We're out to stop the next war. We can only hope to do this by converting a sufficient number of people to pacifism. Everything, therefore, should be subordinated to this. The futility of poster parades, the idiocy of wasting precious time arguing with militarists when there are thousands of potential pacifists waiting to be converted, and the appalling waste of time and energy of a good deal of pacifist effort were brought home to me forcibly on the last night of the Aldershot Tattoo.

Your article of June 18 actually glories in the opposition that Mr. Spottiswoode inflamed. Can't you see that this sort of thing is mere self-gratification and emotionalism? Do brewers have loud-speaker vans at temperance conferences? Does the War Office depend for its recruits on free visits to Roehampton hospital? How can the PPU expect to get recruits with the ghastly show put up at Aldershot?

I went to the tattoo on the last night and passed a long string of bedraggled self-conscious "funnies" slouching in the gutter, carrying posters on which I saw to my horror the words "Peace Pledge Union." Thousands of people have been prejudiced against the PPU because of these thoughtless demonstrators. I felt I wanted to get out and kick them, literally. The other member of my party said "Silly people" and forgot them. But the next time the PPU is mentioned they will recall the feelings of contempt they had when they saw those "silly people" gratifying their masochism in Aldershot.

You're not undermining the Britisher's faith in militarism, but you're jarring against that sub-intoxication in which he goes to the tattoo. Most people go there as they go to a circus. This emotional jarring is resented, and the average man becomes more interested in the army quack army.

Every time resentment is shown to a pacifist he should quit what he's doing at once. Pacifists may be lynched when war comes, but every time a crowd would like to lynch a pacifist before war comes is a nail in the coffin of peace.

These demonstrators may be right. That's not the point. They're having their wonderful feelings of martyrdom and making no converts whatever. I say it with complete earnestness—these people are betraying the cause of peace.

It makes me wild that the work of those who establish friendly contacts which lead to conversion should be destroyed by this sort of thing. You can't get a kick out of persuading your friends to read Russell or Huxley. There's not much glory in following up contacts made in pubs or railway trains. But it's the only way to peace. These people are going out of their way to offend people by unprovoked acts of emotional aggression, and finish up by persuading everybody that pacifists are cranks.

Since this is the first letter I've ever written to a paper, perhaps I may be allowed to sign myself—

A.

P.S.—I have just read Margaretta Bennett's "impression" on page 16 of July 2 issue. The answer to her last question is "NO!"

OUTSIDE OUR SPHERE?

Mr. Percy A. Hill (PEACE NEWS, July 23) considers retailers could be dispensed with and the result would be cheaper commodities; otherwise there is no point in his argument.

Many manufacturers have found by experience that running direct supply shops involves so much extra trouble and so much extra capital that the profit is not sufficient compensation. Others make retailing pay by selling other manufacturers' goods in addition to their own and thus become retailers.

Some direct suppliers build and equip their shops, others rent shops and pay the landlords' "profit," the landlord thus "sucking the life blood." Mr. Hill does not understand that manufacturing is a business and retailing is a business, and not many men can succeed in both.

JOHN PURSAILL.

The Dolmens,
Duston, Northampton.

VIOLENCE BEGETS VIOLENCE

ABOLISH THE DEATH PENALTY
Free information, literature, and speakers for P.P.U. group meetings, supplied on application to the secretary.
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY
Parliament Mansions, Victoria St., London, S.W.1

POINTS for the PLATFORM

Results of Ottawa

THIS diagram, appearing in the August issue of *Empire*, showing the relation between Britain's trade with the Empire and her trade with other countries, emphasizes the purpose of empires.

It will be seen that exports to the Empire represented in 1860 a third of total exports. In 1915 they again formed the same proportion. For the same years the corresponding percentages relating to imports were 29 percent and 26 percent.

Empire comments: This in spite of the fact that between the two dates "foreign countries" were reduced by millions of square miles of territory and tens of millions of population which were conquered for the Empire and went to swell its resources.

Three points are worth noticing about this:

1. Imperialism had no appreciable influence on the direction taken by our overseas trade until preferential tariff and monetary arrangements (which culminated in the Ottawa Agreements of 1932) began to be applied during and after the War.

2. The increase in the ratio of trade with the Empire took place step by step with the deepening of international tension which has brought us to the brink of the second world war. It was, in fact, achieved at the cost of intensified poverty and distress in many parts of the world, notably Italy, Japan and Germany.

3. In the last fifteen years, while the ratio of our Empire trade has been rising, the money value of that trade has been falling.

Gas Masks as Toys

THE suggestion that there should be "Mickey Mouse" gas masks for children was made recently by Mr. W. F. Gadsby, president, at a meeting of Leicester Chamber of Commerce, following a statement that children were terrified of wearing government gas masks.

Another speaker said that if the masks were treated as a joke the terror would go.

Internationalists

IMPERIAL Chemical Industries exports so much Free List gunpowder to Germany's Nobel Explosive works that it has had to run special ships to carry it (reported *News Review* last week).

Not Taking Their Own Advice

FROM the leader column of the *Daily Express*, July 16:

Read the news of the order for 1,000 fighter planes given by the Government to Lord Nuffield. No wonder the Germans are asking to come to an agreement with us about the size of air fleets. For it is obvious that we are building up our air force on such a huge scale and in such immense proportions that before long Chamberlain will have fulfilled the pledge made to us by his predecessor Baldwin that we should have air parity with Germany.

Obvious, too, that the country is solid behind this aspect of Chamberlain's policy. Not a voice against it.

"Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches. But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth."

—Jeremiah.

Wasting Brains on Armaments

THE best energies and abilities of the heads of the most important organizations today, said Lord Kenilworth, president of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, at a London luncheon on July 9, were being distracted from their normal business to the armaments programme.

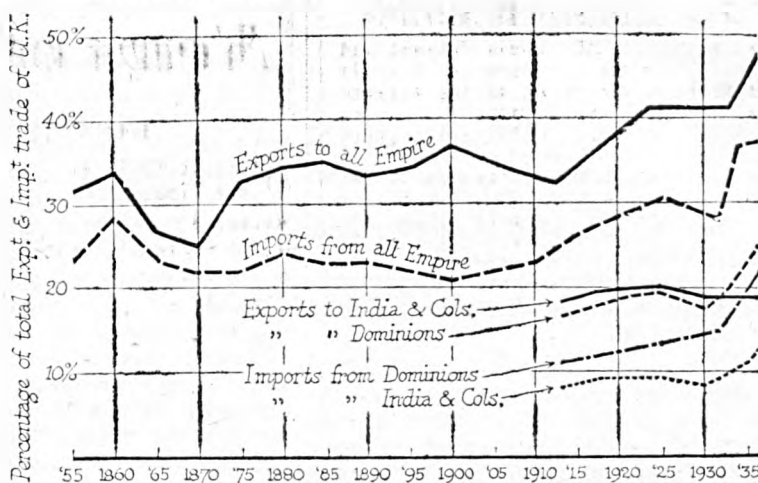
Lord Kenilworth also described talk and propaganda concerning air raid precautions as foolish.

Rearmament Everywhere

HERE are some of the latest signs that most nations are still determined to waste "the best energies and abilities" on armaments and other such work:

Germany.—A plan to ring Germany round with fortifications on all frontiers has been ordered to be put into effect, according to a report on July 15. The *Daily Worker* alleged that this plan was the real reason for the decree by which all workers may be conscripted for "tasks of special importance to the State."

Portugal.—"The question of the rearmament supplies needed for the Portuguese Army," and of Portugal's preference for England in the matter" was referred to in a *Daily Telegraph* report on July 18. According to this report, the Portuguese press had emphasized "the importance of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance," and hoped that "it is not impossible to come to an understanding." The *Daily Telegraph* added:



"The chief obstacle in obtaining supplies from England is understood to be the urgency of Portugal's rearmament needs owing to events arising out of the war in Spain."

Britain.—Sir Kingsley Wood, Air Minister, announced on July 15 that the Government had given Lord Nuffield an order for 1,000 high-speed Spitfire fighters—the first order for the £3,000,000 Nuffield aircraft factory at Castle Bromwich. Lord Nuffield commented: "We are engaged in building one of the most formidable air forces in the world."

Roots of War

MISS MURIEL LESTER, the well-known pacifist, of Kingsley Hall, Bow, has just returned from the Far East. Speaking from first-hand experience of the horrors of modern war in China, she told the *Manchester Guardian* that what she would like to say to people here was:

If you do not like the fruits of war, stop its roots. Refuse to kill or to let your sons learn to kill. Refuse to prepare for killing by armies, navies, or air forces. Do not produce the tools of death or, by buying these tools, help others to produce them.

Examine the sources of your comfort, your dividends and securities. Only by readiness to make economic adjustments in our own lives shall we gain the courage and authority to ask the rich to do the same thing. It was American and British money that helped to build the fine missionary colleges where sixty percent of China's present-day leaders were educated, and it is American and British money that is helping Japan to destroy them.

Food Costs Italians More

DUE to a rise in the cost of grain (which has already sent up the price of bread in parts of Italy) increases in the cost of macaroni and similar foodstuffs were notified by the Italian Ministry of Corporations on July 11. Rises in prices were expected to be from seven to ten percent. The foodstuffs in question form an important part of the diet of Italians.

"Silent Approach"

THE "silent approach" (gliding a great distance from a high altitude), the effects of which on Barcelona were described recently by John Langdon-Davies, was referred to by the Inspector-General of the ARP Department of the Home Office at Preston on Thursday of last week.

Britain's means of detection, he said, would detect aeroplanes even if they were throttled down, and they were not afraid of "silent" flying.

He did not, however, explain how the methods of detection would function.

DIARY OF THE WEEK

July

30 (Sat.) CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katharine Street; open-air meeting; PPU.

31 (Sun.) BRISTOL; 8 p.m. St. Andrew's Park; L. O. Brown, Leslie Wills, E. Humphries, and Reginald Wallis (chairman); PPU.

MACCLESFIELD; 8.15 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Society of Friends.

August

2 (Tues.) ROMFORD; 8 p.m. The Market; open-air meeting; George Dutch, W. G. Beverley, and Miss Vernon; PPU.

7 (Sun.) MORECAMBE; 8.30 p.m. Royalty Theatre; Canon Stuart Morris, Nigel Spottiswoode, and Rev. F. F. Pepper (chairman); PPU; reserved seats (6d. each) obtainable from F. Hellowell, Hatlex Drive, Hest Bank.

PACIFISTS AT ESPERANTO CONGRESS

There will be a meeting of the Pacifist Esperanto League during the Universal Esperanto Congress at University College, London, W.C.1, on Tuesday, August 2, at about 12 noon—immediately after the meeting arranged by the Friends' Esperanto Society.

Only members of the Universal Esperanto Congress may attend, and proceedings will be entirely in Esperanto.

The meeting is not, however, restricted to members of the Pacifist Esperanto League.

Those likely to be present should send a post-card to the secretary of the Pacifist Esperanto League, Mr. W. J. Brigden, 232, Sillincourt Road, Tooting, London, S.W.17.

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PACIFISM NOW A WORLD FORCE

From a Correspondent

EXTENSIVE touring in fourteen European countries had convinced him that pacifism could—and, indeed, already had—become a world force in our time, said the Rev. John Nevill Sayre, at a meeting held by the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation last week.

He has been engaged on a peace campaign in Europe for ten weeks, and passed through London on his way back to the United States.

It was quite true, he continued, that outside her boundaries Germany was universally mistrusted and feared, and that within the State itself there was ignorance of world affairs and a general tightening of the iron hand of the Nazi regime.

The aim to rear a nation whose country and dictator would be its only gods was being pursued ruthlessly but was not able to stifle totally inquiring and dissenting thought among all classes.

GERMAN PEOPLE WANT PEACE

The dread of the dictaphone, secret police, and concentration camp, and the irk of regimentation, was nurturing a desire for a differently ordered life, and there was widespread fear of war and deep desire for peace in the rank and file of the German population.

He recalled an occasion when the students of a famous German university were ordered to parade at a Nazi demonstration, and although the whole faculty was present, only twenty of the 1,800 students obeyed the command.

It was such opinion, and feeling in all countries that was to be weighed against the probability of another general war, and, together with the growth of absolute pacifism in the USA, France, and our own country, and other favourable factors, was tipping the balance in favour of peace.

SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement

PERSONAL

TWO WOMEN, sketching Andover, downland district, week commencing August 22, would like to stay with pacifists. Reply, stating terms, to Mrs. Bryant, Leycroft Farm, Taunton.

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ADAPTABLE YOUNG MAN, aged 24, seeks permanent progressive situation in accounts of any description, having had nearly eight years' experience in insurance accounts and having passed intermediate examination of Corporation of Accountants.—Box 64, PEACE NEWS, 17 Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

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SUNNY SUSSEX.—A few guests received at Privett Cottage, Cowbeech, Hailsham; beautiful country; large garden.—Warner.

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PROBLEMS OF HUNGARY

Depend on Peace in Europe

AMONG the countries whose future depends upon events in Czechoslovakia is Hungary—which actually lost territory when the Czech Republic came into being after the War.

This fact leads some Hungarians to hope for territorial revision in a not too distant future, although others apparently recognize that such revision might be at the expense of Hungary's existence as a separate nation.

The internal position in Hungary itself is a reflection of the uncertainty as to her future. At present under a parliamentary form of government—with M. Béla de Imrédy, a former business man, as Premier—Hungarians showed after the Anschluss that in their midst there were possibilities of a strong Nazi movement. So clear was this that at that time there was almost panic among Jews in Budapest.

SOURCE OF NAZIS' STRENGTH

The possibility of German aid in frontier revision is one of the appeals that explain the increasing sympathy with the Nazis; the two other chief arguments are anti-Semitism and land reform.

The first of these is due in part to results of the Great War. Jews were able, in the past, to establish themselves in the field of commerce partly because young men who might have entered it were able to embark on army careers or to secure State appointments in territories now lost to Hungary. Now such young men can no longer seek such careers.

The "land hunger," due to the large proportion of the land in the hands of big estate owners, was also repressed in 1918, and Nazis promise division of the big estates among those without land.

At present the Premier is holding extremists in check by following a policy of partial concession to their demands—in regard to land reform, rearmament, and Jews in business. Such tight-rope walking may be the only way of preserving parliamentary government at all, but its continuance depends upon an improvement in the international position.

DETERIORATION IN PALESTINE

Jews Driven to Terrorism

The inability of the repressive methods of the British Government to restore order in Palestine seems to have led to the adoption of terrorism by some of the Jews. This new development, in turn, has resulted in the dispatch by the Government of HMS Repulse and another brigade of soldiers.

Besides this urban terrorism by Arabs and Jews, other obstacles to peace (though they are but symptoms of the real, underlying obstacles) are armed Arab bands which carry on guerrilla warfare against military posts and Jewish colonists and exact tribute from villagers.

"SUB-WAR"

Although in Galilee, where there was a virtual dictatorship of such bands, the army secured an "improvement" by indulging in a "sub-war" likened to that on the Indian North-West Frontier, elsewhere the bands elude capture.

Another measure has been accepted by inhabitants as a challenge, and is consequently causing trouble to the military; this was the erection of "Tegart's Wall" along the frontier, to act as an obstacle to bandits and contraband arms. Because the wall interferes with pasturage and inter-village trade, it is constantly subjected to attacks.

Meanwhile the steady deterioration of the situation since the beginning of the year, with the consequent employment of still more force and loss of prestige on the Government's part, points to the impossibility of real pacification by military methods and to the need for an attack on the problems underlying the present situation.

A further victory has been gained by the German Evangelical pastors who have refused to take the oath to Hitler. So many have refused that the authorities have been compelled to extend the time limit by three months—ostensibly so as not to disturb efforts to dissuade them from refusal.

Essential Points in the P.P.U. MANIFESTO

THE Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge: "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation. The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be, obtained in the well-being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his government to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination, which makes peace impossible.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

When the causes are faced, a solution, which could both meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the standard of life and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it, when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge and renewed conflict—if, indeed, civilization survives.

Copies of the full Manifesto are obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

DEMANDS OF THE SUDETEN GERMANS

More Power Proposed for Minorities in Czechoslovakia

THE demands of the Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia became known last week, when the party published the text of the memorandum submitted to the Czech Government last month.

The memorandum has been accepted as the basis for negotiations for the proposed Nationalities Statute and other minority measures.

Following are the fourteen main demands made in the memorandum:

1. Recognition of equality among the various nations and national groups to be guaranteed by the Constitution.
2. Guarantee of the following democratic principle of national sovereignty:—(a) Every national group to have the right to manage its own affairs; (b) every national group to have an equal share in the conduct of State business; (c) protection against anti-nationalists; (d) unrestricted rights to national groups to foster common national interests.
3. A National Regional Statute involving territorial reorganization of the State in Czech, German, Slovak, and other areas. The national minorities in these areas to be protected.

DIVISION OF POWERS

4. Application of these reforms to legislation and administration. The Czech and the German population to have the right to determine their own national and territorial requirements consistently with the interests of the State. National self-administration to apply in particular to the police, including the State police, education, pre-military training, local finance, and the right to levy supplementary taxation and establish labour camps. Parliament and the government to have control of any matters concerning the State as a whole.
5. Division of legislative powers between the National Assembly, possibly without a Senate, and the diets of each individual nationality. In the National Assembly each national group to have its own section to represent the group as a body corporate. The National Assembly to have legislative power in all matters which are not reserved for self-administration. The representatives in the national sections of Parliament to form the diet of each nationality. The diets to have legislative powers in the territories of self-administration. The National Assembly or the President of the Republic to have the right of vetoing decisions by the diets, but not for a second time.

EXECUTIVE POWER

6. The executive power in the whole territory to be exercised as hitherto by the President of the Republic.

AUSTRIAN REFUGEE

7. The article on the refugee problem by a former leader of the Austrian pacifist movement, published a fortnight ago, it was stated that the figure of 300,000 Jews in Austria included "non-Aryan Christians" and those married to Jews. Actually, this figure did not include such people. The number of people who had left Austria was inadvertently given in the same article as 1,500 instead of the correct figure of 15,000.

UNIVERSITAS SCHEME

Mr. Charles H. Vereker, whose London address was given last week in connexion with the Universitas scheme, is leaving England and will not be able to deal with inquiries until his return in October. Meantime, information regarding the scheme is obtainable from Mr. Torsten Malmros, Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden.

FOOD WITHOUT SLAUGHTER

Why not try the Vegetarian Way?
FREE LITERATURE ON APPLICATION TO
The Vegetarian Society,
57, Princess Street, Manchester, 2.

News of Note

BACK TO 1914?

APPREHENSION "whether events are not moving on pre-war lines" was expressed by Mr. Herbert Morrison, Leader of the London County Council, at Farnham on Saturday.

He wished he could feel that in the Royal visit to Paris

there was more of a spirit of fostering the ideal of bringing together all the peoples of the world in peaceful combination, instead of, as one fears, fraternity between France and England in an effort to frighten someone on the other side of the line.

If the visit were "for the purpose of building and maintaining the peace of the world, well and good," he continued; "but if it merely aims at cementing a military alliance between our country and France it is not, in the long run, going to be a real contribution to the building of an entirely peaceful and prosperous world."

"MARTYR" MURDERERS

The two Austrian Nazis hung for the murder of Dr. Dollfuss, Austrian Chancellor, in 1934, and the eleven other Austrian Nazis executed for participation in the Nazis' abortive putsch in that year, were spoken of as "martyrs" for the cause of "greater Germany" at a memorial ceremony in Klagenfurt, Austria, on Sunday.

ENEMIES RENOUNCE WAR

A promise not to use force for the solution of present or future difficulties was made by Paraguay and Bolivia in a peace treaty signed on Thursday of last week. After three years of bitter warfare the two countries have now agreed to accept the award of the presidents of Argentina, Chile, USA, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay defining the frontier in the Chaco.

ARBITRATION IN MEXICO?

America proposed to Mexico, in a Note sent on Thursday of last week, that the question of expropriated lands should be submitted to arbitration, in accordance with a general treaty of arbitration signed by the two countries in 1929, when they agreed to accept as final the decisions of an arbitration board of five.

There was an impression in Washington that the Note had also a general bearing on the oil issue.

ENGINEERS AGAINST DILUTION

The attitude of the joint engineering trades movement toward dilution of labour was brought into line last week with that of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, when a private meeting of executive representatives of the movement resolved that it "does not consider there is any justification for relaxation of existing regulations or working conditions."

ANTI-SEMITISM FORGOTTEN

Despite the fact that Jewish shopkeepers were ordered last month to put their real names in large white letters on their windows, during the summer sale in Berlin women (mostly "Aryan") flocked to the large Jewish stores. According to the *Angriff*, Dr. Goebbels' newspaper, on Monday, police have been unable to move on crowds outside shops, and in some cases premises have had to be temporarily closed, owing to the great numbers of customers.

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PEACE NEWS

July 30, 1938

Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

policy of the complete refusal of war and war preparation and the substitution of a policy of cooperation with all peoples on the basis of treating those other peoples as we would have them treat us, is at once the only real alternative and the only realist and practical policy of peace.

Next week, and increasingly in succeeding weeks and months this newspaper in particular and the Peace Pledge Union in general will be carrying on the immediate task of keeping that policy to the fore and rallying public opinion to its support until it is made the official policy of our country. People who had not previously heard of the Peace Pledge Union are now wanting to know "who are these Peace Pledge people" and what they have to say. Those who conduct—and those who seek to conduct—the affairs of our country know well what these pacifists have to say, and they are coming more and more to see the practical common sense of it.

Mr. Chamberlain and Sir John Simon have in so many words admitted the folly of arms. Sir Kingsley Wood, the Air Minister, said, on Saturday, that

if we are to live at peace with other nations, we must learn to understand their points of view and be prepared to take all proper steps open to us to secure better relations—a policy of inactivity was as fatal as one of threats and bluster.

Cabinet Ministers cannot say and believe things like that without either doing something about it or giving way to a government that will.

LABOUR-PACIFIST OPPORTUNITY

IT is most encouraging, therefore, to find leading members of the alternative government party—the Labour Party—becoming equally conscious of the tremendous strength of the pacifist case.

At the Durham miners' gala on Saturday (at which George Lansbury also spoke), the Leader of the Opposition himself, Mr. C. R. Attlee, showed that he recognized that the real struggle was "between democracy and despotism"; and he isn't the man to be side-tracked into imagining that "fighting fascism" is the same as upholding democracy or that peace can be preserved by arms "without the sacrifice of our ideals," as he demanded.

On the same day, at Farnham, Mr. Herbert Morrison, MP, expressed his fear that the Anglo-French talks in Paris were not for the purpose of "bringing together all the peoples of the world in peaceful combination" but aimed at an alliance for war.

Both politicians and pacifists will make a big mistake if they do not see in the portents on both sides their one chance of making peace a reality in the world in the very near future.

LABOUR PARTY AND PEACE

THERE must be many who read what Mr. Attlee has to say with considerable relief, and his article in Tuesday's *Daily Herald* will no doubt give general assurance to the rank and file of the Labour Party.

There is, however, a growing distrust of the direction of Labour's foreign policy, and though it is satisfactory to see that Mr. Attlee himself is sticking fast to the old peace policy of Labour, one cannot say the same of some of his colleagues, nor of the line supported by the literature issued by the Labour Publicity Department.

The misrepresentation of Labour's peace policy (of which Mr. Attlee complains) comes not so much from the pacifists but from those leaders of the party who have allowed their anti-fascist feeling to dominate every consideration of peace by conciliation and justice which Mr. Attlee is now rightly at pains to demonstrate as the true policy of Labour.

SOCIAL SERVICES TO SUFFER?

MR. ATTLEE should further understand that the lack of opposition to the rearmament programme of the Government has not encouraged confidence in Labour's policy.

There is now every indication that the Government means to set up an Economy Committee to ration all spending depart-

ments except the Defence Ministries.

This coming economy drive will affect not only national but local expenditure and the social services system is in great peril. Under the present financial system it is impossible to spend these vast millions on war preparations without calling for economies elsewhere.

But Labour has not only supported this expenditure but actually urged its increase when it accused the Air Ministry of inefficiency. What case can Labour put up against the coming drive against the social services?

Mr. Attlee must understand that it is not pacifists who misrepresent the party when they express deep concern over present trends. If Mr. Attlee can persuade his colleagues to follow his line, all cause of misunderstanding will fade away.

TURKEY AND BRITISH GENEROSITY

THE *TIMES* quotes an interview given by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the *New York Times* in which he says:

Imagine, here is a country granting us a loan of £16,000,000, most of which is for armaments, without asking anything in return.

Any other country would have demanded all sorts of privileges in time of peace and particularly in case of war, but Britain asked nothing. She trusted us as she would a real friend. Britain showed she had faith in us. We will show her that the faith is not misplaced.

Americans may like their foreign politics presented in a homely way but a disinterested Britain giving away her largess to a real friend who was her deadly enemy twenty years ago is asking a lot from the most simple-minded American.

It is now two years since the Montreux Convention was signed, governing the future of the Dardanelles. Under that convention Turkey has the right to close the Dardanelles to any country not only when she herself is involved in a war with that country but at any time when she feels herself menaced.

In the economic struggle now going on in Eastern Europe and the Balkans the passage of the Dardanelles in time of crisis may be of supreme importance and it is perhaps just as well that an insurance is taken out that Turkey will not be "menaced" by the Anglo-French Powers operating in those parts.

"PACIFIST POWERS"

THE foreign ministers of the Oslo group of nations (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg) have concluded their meeting in Copenhagen and have reached joint conclusions.

They have agreed, for one thing, to try every possibility of putting an end to the present armament race by means of international agreement and in particular to help forward any attempt to solve the problems raised by air bombing. They have also agreed that the work of the League of Nations must continue, but their governments consider the sanctions system as no obligatory force for all members of the League.

M. Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, described the Oslo Powers as "an ideological community based on democracy, tolerance and pacifism." "We are pacifists," he said, "because war today would be an economic and moral cataclysm for Europe and the world."

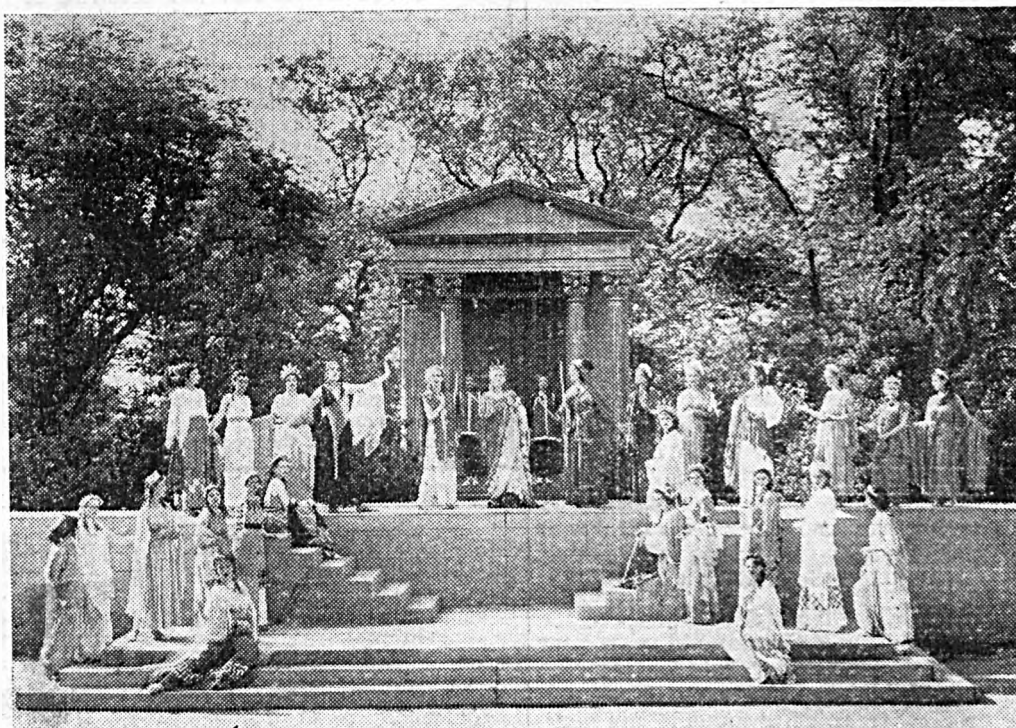
This group may consist of small Powers, but altogether it represents a population of 35,000,000. The influence of such a group might be considerable in rebuilding the League on sound and constructive lines.

"CIVIL" AIR GUARD

THE Civil Air Guard, the new organization whose formation the Air Minister announced on Saturday, is designed to bring still more of the population directly into the war machine.

It is difficult to see how a body of people whose job it will be to assist the RAF in time of emergency can be termed a "civil" organization. Doubtless the name has been chosen to attract people who might be put off by anything too blatantly military.

It is much to be regretted that even the gliding movement is now affected by this move toward militarization for it is to have its own section of the Civil Air Guard.



Gladys Cooper (centre) as Lysistrata, haranguing the women to join her scheme to end the war.

WISDOM AND WIT OF 2,300 YEARS AGO STILL BRILLIANT TODAY

War is the care and business of women—
Aristophanes (411 B.C.)

THE first performance of the Old Greek satiric comedy, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, which is being run for a month at the Open-Air Theatre in Regent's Park, was lucky in its weather and played to a crowded house—or whatever is the appropriate name for an open-air audience.

It gave Gladys Cooper a fine opportunity to appear in a classical part, and she took it magnificently, acting with great dignity and charm. Unlike some of her companions, who appeared to have strayed from Hollywood, she conveyed the sense of Athenian dignity and was the responsible matron both in appearance and in speech.

BRILLIANT COMMENT ON WAR

It is well worth making an effort to see the revival (Regent's Park on a fine summer's evening being about as effortless a place as possible) for the sake of Miss Cooper's performance and for the sake of the lines she has to speak, which are as brilliant a comment on war and war preparation as the mind of man has yet made.

It is indeed astonishing that the Censor of Plays can permit such wisdom to be broadcast through arcadian loud-speakers to an audience which Sir Thomas Inskip & Co. are bent on recruiting for war.

Possibly deference to the Censor has made the present show lean in the direction of the Athenian Bottom and his crew on the one hand, and classical grand opera on the other, to the great detriment of Greek wit, poetry, and satire. But above the broad farce and the irrelevant and obtrusive musical accompaniment, the attentive listener can sometimes hear wit and wisdom of a rare quality; and when he cannot, he can bide his time in comfortable patience, waiting for the im-

pressive Lysistrata herself.

WISDOM OF THE AGES

The play is, of course, cut for reasons of prudery, and it has been rehandled so drastically as really to destroy its form: the climax gets rubbed out; the pageantry, however, is good, and the use of Barbara Heselbine's masks fully justified.

If the fun is underlined and thus vulgarized, it is still there, after 2,300 years; and if it is depressing to know that war has been the subject of such piercing comment all these years, it is heartening to know that the pacifist of today joins hands with, and is supported by, the wisdom of the ages.

Power and Glory, The Insect Play, Idiot's Delight, and Glorious Morning (the best of the bunch): now *Lysistrata*. What is happening? Has the London stage become an ARP and RAF recruiting antidote?

M. P.

Profiteering—A "Vital Service"

MR. DUFF COOPER'S reference to ship-owners carrying non-contraband cargoes to Spanish Government ports as "war profiteers" brought this comment in *The Times* on Thursday of last week from Mr. Neville Dixey:

Whether these owners are deserving of Mr. Duff Cooper's implied condemnation or not I do not propose to discuss, but I do wish to ask whether, if this country were involved in a European war, Mr. Duff Cooper would adopt the same attitude toward neutral shipowners who were prepared to employ their ships in bringing foodstuffs and other necessities to this country? They would earn high freights, and would thus lay themselves open to the charge of war-profiteering; but would Mr. Duff Cooper therefore deprecate their action? On the contrary, in view of the fact that they would be rendering a vital service to this nation, he would, I venture to think, encourage their enterprise by every means in his power, and claim that they deserved the full rewards of their courage and enterprise.

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STOP PRESS

VAN ZEELAND REPORT: PLEA AT PACIFIST CONGRESS

International Fellowship of Reconciliation Congress opened in Lunenburg, Holland, Thursday. George Lansbury, at opening session, declared: "We are witnessing birth of new political and economic era. Side by side with evils arising from political division of Europe into number of competing nationalisms, there has arisen desire among all nations for fuller, juster, more equitable life."

"For some time now it has seemed to me all governments are striving for time—time, some say, to build up more powerful forces. May it not be that at the same time they are also endeavouring to find a way out?"

Mr. Lansbury deplored shelving of Van Zeeland Report. "This document," he said, "does not cover whole field of economic disorders, or contain more than an approach to world economic problems. It does contain the proposition: 'Come, let us reason together.' It is this great proposal we must all support. It is rather insane that world of men and women which can expend thousands of millions of pounds worth of human skill, knowledge, labour, preparing to destroy itself utterly, cannot call halt to such madness and commence build such an economic way of life as is consistent with present standards of knowledge and understanding."